THE MUSLIM WORLD

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Editorials

OUR OBJECT

Volume LI begins with this issue of *The Muslim World*. We are pleased that the Reverend Professor Elmer H. Douglas, Ph. D., is now serving as Editor. Professor Douglas brings to the post not only his recent experience as Associate Editor of the Quarterly and a long-time contributor to its pages, but also his rich back-ground of experience in North Africa for twenty-nine years before assuming his present position of Professor of Arabic and Islamics at the Hartford Seminary Foundation.

The Muslim World has been sponsored by the Foundation since January, 1938. Succeeding its founder and first editor, Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer, as editors were the Reverend Edwin E. Calverley, Ph. D., and the Reverend Kenneth Cragg, D. Phil., successively the Professor of Arabic and Islamics at Hartford prior to Professor Douglas. Thus sponsorship by this institution has meant and continues to mean the extension beyond the classroom of its faculty's Christian concern for the scholarly understanding of Islam.

As *The Muslim World* enters its second half-century of publication, its policy for the future cannot be stated more succinctly or adequately than it was in the opening editorial of the January, 1938, issue by Duncan Black Macdonald: "Whatever is of importance to the World of Islam is still our subject. The spiritual welfare of Muslims is still our object."

Hartford, Connecticut

James N. Gettemy, President,
The Hartford Seminary
Foundation

TRUE MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS

True Muslims and true Christians, and also some persons in other religions, seek to live holy lives always and everywhere. And all fail; frequently those who desire most and try hardest to be and do good feel that they succeed least. It is hoped that the following report will help many who are distressed by their failure to overcome their temptations to sin.

> Years ago a man of Mesopotamia told me of his struggles to stop sinning. He had been brought up as a Shi^{c}i Muslim and he could not conquer his passions. He said that in houses of shame he would feel the shame of his association with the licensed ladies and their customers. He told me that he would take his head into his hands and say to himself, "I am of better position, better education and better ideals than those people, so why do I come and stay among them?" He said he once spent months in a mosque, staying there day and night without leaving, and had his meals brought to him there, so that he might break with his old associations and habits, but he did not succeed. [This practice, called *i^{c}tikāf* in Arabic, is highly recommended in Islam.] I read to him Paul's seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, in the New Testament (*Injil*). "That's it exactly!" he exclaimed. "That's exactly my condition then and now!" I emphasized the twenty-fifth verse, and he was willing to accept it. He had become a Baha$^{\flat}$i, and feels he can say "Yes" to the fundamentals of all religions, and join in the worship of any when it will bring no unpleasant consequences upon him.

[This narrative was first published in *The Missionary Review of the World,* Vol. 52, 1929, p. 944.]

In *The Epistle to the Romans,* 7: 24, 25, Paul asks and answers this question about his most serious problem, which is also every man's problem, "Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death? I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord." That is the solution Paul found and recorded for mankind centuries ago. It is Jesus Christ that gives victory over sin, both its guilt and its power. Those who trust Christ to conquer sin for them find that their past failures burden them no longer and that they enjoy victory over present temptations as they entrust themselves to Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour.

E.E.C.

الجَوَابُ ٱللَّيِّنُ

A soft answer turns away wrath
but a harsh word stirs up anger.
(Prov. 15: 1)

The validity of this maxim attributed to Solomon has been established by human experience. It remains among the words of wisdom that belong to all ages, peoples, cultures and places. More than sound philosophy, it is a part of good religion. Appropriately it occurs among verses that constitute sacred Scripture for Jews and Christians alike, and rightly, furthermore, is it ascribed to one who is considered by the world of Islam to be one of the prophets.

It suggests good breeding. For does not refined society eye with disdain one who has not learned to hold in check the passion of anger, even as it esteems the person who has disciplined himself to respond with "a soft answer," whatever the provocation? It is an aphorism conducive to harmonious personal relationships. Congenial friends may become embittered by one harsh expression, while estranged persons may be united, and even enemies reconciled, by a gesture or word inspiring confidence and good will. The commercial world, to apply an adage of wisdom to the level of the mundane and utilitarian, readily recognizes the indispensability of suave address and smoothly persuasive discourse in the interest of successful bargaining, as well as the impropriety of incensed reactions and offensive language.

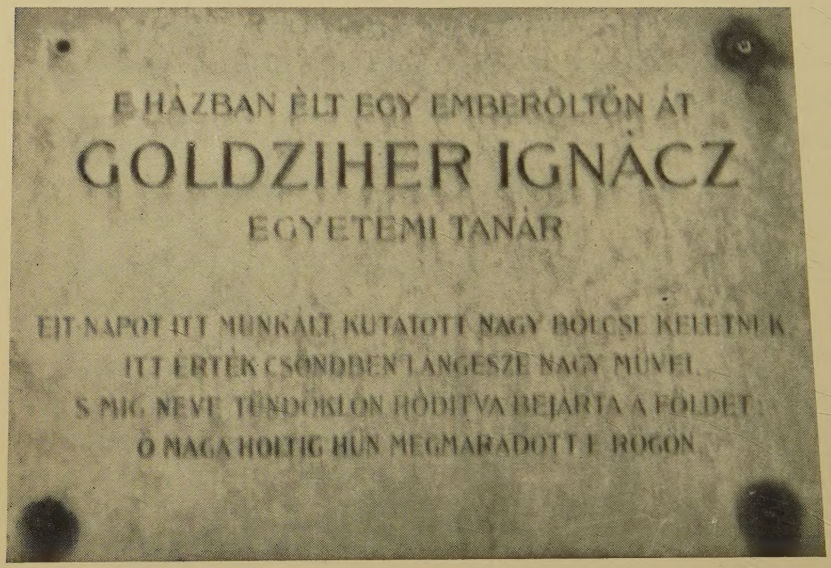
This word of wisdom is likewise salutary in international relations. Wars entailing untold misery for the innocent and engendering hate and distrust have been kindled by careless outbursts of anger. In a very real sense "the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Jer. 31: 29). As these words are being written, representatives of many countries affiliated with the United Nations are in session. This occasion provides an opportunity to express

manifest or ill-concealed emotions. Discourses marked by cool deliberation and forbearance are interspersed with others notable for their lack of charity. Yet all profess peaceful intentions. In such a situation a reminder of the ancient proverb here cited may touch a sympathetic note.

But perhaps more than a reminder is called for. The embodiment of the forbearance inherent in the wisdom of Solomon appeared in Him whose advent will be celebrated in all Christendom at about the time these pages roll from the press, in the very person who was called the "Prince of Peace," and at whose birth the angles sang "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men with whom he is pleased" (Luke 2: 14).

May His peace be a reality in the hearts of men and among the nations of the earth.

E.H.D.


E HÁZBAN ÉLT EGY EMBERÖLTŐN ÁT
GOLDZIHER IGNÁCZ
EGYETEMI TANÁR
ÉLT NAPOT ITT MUNKÁLT KUTATOTT NAGY BÖLCSE KELETNEK
ITT ÉRLELTE CSÖNDBEN LÁNGESZE NAGY MŰVEI
S MIG NEVE TÜNDÖKLŐN HÓDÍTVA BEJÁRTA A FÖLDET
Ő MAGA HŰTLEN HŰN MEGMARADOTT E ROGON

Recent photo of the memorial tablet on the wall of Goldziher's house in which he lived during the latter half of his life.

Translated, it reads: "In this house lived Ignacz Goldziher, University Professor for a generation."

"Here worked and searched day and night
the great sage of the East,
Here matured quietly the great works
of his genius,
And, while his fame bright and conquering
walked the whole earth,
He remained faithful to this clod until his death."

MY REMINISCENCES OF IGNACE GOLDZIHER

"Get wisdom, get insight.
Do not forsake her, and she will keep you;
love her, and she will guard you.
The beginning of wisdom is this: get wisdom
and whatever you get, get insight.
Prize her highly, and she will exhalt you;
she will honour you if you embrace her.
She will place on your head a fair garland;
she will bestow on you a beautiful crown."

(The Proverbs 5: 5-9) [1])

It is worthy of the memory of Ignace Goldziher that his last pupil should prefix these Biblical words to his reminiscences of his unforgettable master. Though not a Biblical scholar, Goldziher ever remained an assiduous reader and a fervent searcher of the Scripture. The open Hebrew Bible was always on his desk at home, [2] and his favorite Biblical book was *The Proverbs*. More than once he told me that he was urged to his research by the admonitions of this book.

And it was in search of wisdom that the present writer became the pupil of Ignace Goldziher. He obtained his maturity certificate at the Lutheran grammar-school of Budapest, Hungary, in 1917, that is, the year before World War I came to an end. At that time the centrifugal forces of Panslavism as well as the Daco-Roumanian and Italian irredentas were hard at work to disrupt the multiracial and multilingual Hapsburg monarchy of Austria-Hungary, and after the United States entered the war on April 6, 1917, on the side of the Allied and Associated Powers, the beginning of the fateful end of the war was clearly foreseen by every thinking man in Central Europe. As it foreboded for Hungary the dismemberment of her geographically well-defined area, the pursuance of the study of law which I had originally contemplated did not bid fair for my future career. Instead, I had to choose a field of study not bound to the narrow borders of a small state. My excellent grammar-school training in both the classical languages not only induced me to learn modern languages, both Western and Eastern, which became my real passion, but also opened up broad vistas in history for me. Not content with the knowledge of the Western world, even in my childhood I became a voracious reader of every book I could lay my hand on that described Islam or the history of the Ottoman Empire. Already the Revolt in the Desert of King Husayn of Hijaz in June 1916 had matured in me the conviction that, just like the Hapsburg Empire, the Ottoman Empire would not survive the end of the war, and the birth of the Central European and Middle Eastern nationalisms

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[1] According to the Revised Standard Version.
[2] His Bible was put in his coffin at his burial, opened at Psalm 23.

would open up a new era in the history of mankind in which the study of the historical connections between the Christian West and the Muslim East, whether political or economic or cultural, would be of paramount importance for the whole of mankind.

Thus in the summer of 1917 I resolved to acquire a sound knowledge of the Middle East. At the time there was a special school at Budapest for this field, the Academy (in the United States it would be called College) of Oriental Commercial Studies, with a two-year curriculum for training in Balkanic and Near Eastern business, including the languages of that area. However, although I acquired a good economic survey in this field, which was paired with the learning of three Western and one Eastern language—in my case the latter was Turkish—the Academy of Oriental Commercial Studies left my hunger for a thoroughgoing theoretical education in Middle Eastern languages and history unsatisfied. This led me, after finishing my first year in that Academy, to the Philosophical Faculty (in American parlance: the Faculty of Arts and Sciences) of the University of Budapest. I was attracted there by the fame of Ignace Goldziher (1850-1920) whose works in Hungarian I had already read as a grammar-school pupil.

GOLDZIHER AS A TEACHER

In the middle of September 1918, just after my matriculation, I paid my first visit to Goldziher. I was instantly impressed with his appearance. A tall and stout man with thick white hair and moustache and a thin beard, he had a high forehead. His voice was warm, and his eyes, searching as they were, beamed with philanthropy. Even to the casual man in the street his appearance at once betrayed the intellectual genius who was, notwithstanding, devoid of a superman's aloofness and haughtiness but was rather endowed with a modest and understanding attitude to everybody and everything human. It was with sincere joy that he heard of my previous studies in the Academy of Oriental Commercial Studies and my proficiency in Turkish, which at that time still used the Arabic script. He expressed his satisfaction at having at last a non-theological student with a keen interest in Arabic and Islam and whose starting-point was Turkish, and not Hebrew. Most of his students, he said, were theological undergraduates of different denominations whose topical interest did not go beyond the field of Muslim theology. Actually, during the seven semesters—the last having remained unfinished owing to his sudden passing away—I studied under him I was his only "lay," *i.e.*, non-theological, student.

Having thus had his full encouragement, I set myself to study Arabic in his beginner's course. He had A. Socin's *Arabische Grammatik* for his textbook. Although he disliked E. Harder's *Arabische Konversations-Grammatik*, I secretly studied the latter also in

my evening hours because I was even as a student convinced that the conversational method of learning would help me on more quickly and efficiently than a merely theoretical study of grammar. Goldziher very soon noticed my rapid advance in Arabic, and on his inquiry I had to confess to him my private study of Harder's grammar.

His appreciation of my endeavors was all the more reassuring to me because the outward political events of my freshman year of 1918-9 discouraged one from, rather than encouraged to, any sort of intensive study. On October 31, 1918, a democratic revolution under the leadership of Count Michael Károlyi broke out; however, lacking authority both inside and outside of Hungary, he handed over the power on March 21, 1919, to the Communist Party which set up the dictatorship of the proletariat which lasted until August 1 of the same year when the Hungarian Red Army, on having attacked Roumania, was defeated in the battlefield. The ensuing nationalist régime of Admiral Nicholas Horthy was during its first two years unable to stabilize internal order. Irresponsible gangs of anti-Semitic rightist officers of the old army raced up and down the country, torturing and killing hundreds of politically uncompromised Jews. At the universities they, with their anti-Semitic and extreme rightist student accomplices, blocked the gates and checked the papers of the entering students, thus preventing the Jewish students from their matriculation and later also from attending the lectures.

It is small wonder that our life was far from being quiet in that kaleidoscopically changing political atmosphere. The universities were more often closed than open, many students having taken part in political meetings and street demonstrations, leftist until the fall of the first communist régime, and rightist in the beginning of Horthy's régime. Under such circumstances perhaps the only place of a veritably Olympic quiet was Goldziher's study in the university where he uninterruptedly went on teaching his few pupils, undisturbed by the street demonstrations of various colors. For the cacophony of political arguing, with which the passages and not a few classrooms of the universities resounded, hushed at the door of Goldziher's study. Those who were his pupils during those convulsive years have learnt for their lifetime that a scholar's life should be entirely devoted to objective study and teaching, *irrespective of the political party which happens to be in power*—that *there is, because there should be, a research on its own,* not only in natural sciences but in all the humanistic studies as well.

It was in early September 1919, at the beginning of my sophomore year, that Goldziher asked me to come twice a week to his apartment for private training in Arabic. I knew that from the early nineties on only very few pupils were selected by him for this purpose, and, of course, I considered myself as particularly privileged to belong to the selected. By doing so, my master instinctively initiated the system of

seminars, unfamiliar in his time for humanistic studies, and also the differentiation between such pupils who merely read for a pass and others who intended to pass with honors—which has ever been an essential feature of the British and American university system. For he, like all the intellectual geniuses, considered professorship not merely as a bread-winning position but also as a vocation. It was only to the rudiments of Arabic and Islamic studies that he introduced *all* his pupils at the university in his beginner's and advanced courses, both consisting of one lecture a week on selected topics of Islamic cultural history. Sometimes this third course was an elementary course of Syriac for his theological students. A really thoroughgoing instruction he gave only to his few selected pupils whom he invited to his apartment twice a week, Tuesdays and Thursdays, in the afternoon. The sessions lasted from 4 p.m. well into the late evening hours. We looked him up in his apartment where he sat in his study, or "inner room" as he called it, a spacious room, well-stocked with books to the ceiling. He always sat in a large armchair behind his long desk, clothed in his brown dressing-gown, and continually smoking his long pipe filled with strong tobacco.

His exceptionally attractive personality was truly mirrored in the choice of his selected pupils. In those troubled post-World War I years when vulgar passions ran high inside and outside the university, Goldziher's private study was a veritable island of peace and understanding. There sat, together with me, a Roman Catholic seminarist of the Piarist Order, a Syrian Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbinical student, and, immediately before the master's death, also a *Privatdozent* of the Reformed Theological Seminary of Budapest. Because of the post-war difficulties of travel he had no Muslim students during his last years, though he expected to receive several from the newly-formed Muslim countries.

All of us had either Brünnow-Fischer's *Arabische Chrestomathie* or Noeldeke's *Delectus veterum carminum arabicorum* in our hands. However, these internationally recognized textbooks of the advanced student of Arabic were merely compasses for our master. He made each of us read alternately from them. As often as we came to a difficult phrase or unfamiliar word in the text he stopped us and introduced us with his exegesis and topical explanations to the inner hall of knowledge. From his lips there opened up to us the whole edifice of Islam, its theology and canon law, its past and present, its traditions and folklore. Frequently he picked out Arabic books or manuscript copies from his bookshelves to validate his statements from them. During his afternoon lectures, which so closely resembled those of the Mosque of al-Azhar which he had himself attended in 1873-4, a very great deal, indeed, more than enough for the starting of their careers, was learnt by those lucky pupils who could attend them. For it was by these lectures that Goldziher trained his select pupils to be Orientalists.

However, the influence of Goldziher as a teacher spread far beyond

the small circle of his direct pupils. From the eighties of the 19th century onward he reviewed not only the books of the older generation of Orientalists but also took to his heart the first literary essays of the beginners. With his benevolent reviews of their doctoral theses and first books he helped to start the scientific careers of a great many young Orientalists. "We shoud never discourage the endeavors, however modest they are, of the young people. Once we all were young," he used to say. Clinging to his principile, he went even beyond the reviewing of the printed dissertations of the young foreign scholars. Many of them received suggestions for their doctoral theses and even specifications for their further researches. In this manner he got in touch with many scholars of the younger generation.

This was possible only by keeping his correspondence in strict order. "Two things I enjoin on you if you want to prosper in life," he said to me once. "Answer every letter or card you receive, even if your answer be negative; and take part in the Orientalists' congresses with lectures. This is as important as literary work. And do not be discouraged by eventual adverse critics; they help you as much as your friends do." Not only did he answer every letter he received but he read the shorter reprints right on the same day, and on the following morning he mailed his answers to the authors, correcting their mistakes and even the misprints of their articles. Characteristically, he always answered them on open postal cards written in his pearl-like minuscules.

As a teacher Goldziher was a man of goodwill in the full sense of the word. No one could better than he stimulate helpless or discouraged students to further study or research. Never did he make his students feel his intellectual superiority—he always remained natural and modest in his intercourse with everybody, only raising his voice when he met with charlatanism. Like most researchers, he disliked office work; yet, when he became Dean of the Philosophical Faculty in 1917-8 he accomplished this fatiguing administrative duty with the same zeal that he devoted to his research. He also held his classes during the year of his deanship, the separation of the two tasks having not yet been usual in his time.

Concerning his professional work, he had one complaint only. Until his death he was unable to get an assistant to introduce his beginners class to the practice of Arabic script and the elements of the grammar. That is why he usually asked his advanced pupils to do so. Though I was then a beginner, on having learnt that I knew elementary Turkish he asked me to teach two other beginners the Arabic script. Indeed, in those patriarchal times one man had to do all the duties of teaching, research, and librarianship, the latter not for himself, for he had no institute, but for the large public libraries of Budapest. Indeed, it was only a few months before his death that a special Oriental Seminar under his direction was established in the University of Budapest.

GOLDZIHER AS A SCHOLAR [3]

It was decisive for his whole scientific career that in 1869-70 he was the pupil of Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801-88), Professor of Semitics in the University of Leipzig and the most eminent pupil of Baron Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy of Paris (1758-1838), founder of the French *Société asiatique* in 1822 and the initiator of the scholarly study of Arabic as an independent field of research. The latter's fundamental Arabic grammar and chrestomathy were always praised by Goldziher who also recommended them to his pupils for study.

As to Fleischer, Goldziher always referred to his master in terms of the warmest affection, emphasizing that the sound philological training gained under him was the safe foundation of his life-time research. He was always proud that it was to him, as Fleischer put it, "the worthiest of my pupils of recent date," that on March 4, 1875, his master sent the first interest payment, amounting to RM 440, 30, of the "Fleischer-Stipendium," deposited with the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. In his diary Golziher put down that, when he modestly refused to accept his master's gift, Fleischer answered him as follows: "Then use it for the increase of the well-being of your mother in gratitude for having given birth to and bred in you such an excellent student of science."

His second most important professor at Leipzig was Heymann Steinthal (1832-99), who taught general linguistics and introduced his pupils to his newly-invented fields of study, ethnopsychology and linguistic palaeontology. These subjects clearly showed that Goldziher already as a student aspired to broader vistas than Fleischer's unilateral philological formalism. He very early adopted the method of Alfred von Kremer (1828-89), who turned his attention to the process of the evolution of the human mind and examined every text as an historical document. Goldziher too until his death disliked philological studies by and for themselves. The very rare occasions when he got into a temper were when he condemned in sharp words the phonological formalism of the younger generation of Hungarian philologers. Indeed, he considered only as a pure waste of time the study of philology regardless of higher aims. Such a study should serve only as a basis for the further study of the original sources of Oriental history, which again should be done not for itself but always for the effects Oriental civilizations have had on the intellectual development of all mankind. According to him, *the highest aim of the study of history is to point out the oneness of mankind beyond and above all its differences in color, race, and religion. This was the credo of Ignace Goldziher,* to which he clung faithfully and unswervingly from his early youth to his last day.

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[3] For his life and work see my paper "Ignace Goldziher," *Muslim World,* July, 1951, pp. 199-208.

That is why he was able to write such excellent and, until this day, indispensable summaries as his *Vorlesungen über den Islam* or his contributions to the series *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*. However, it is important to bear in mind his universal conception of mankind even in reading his shorter papers.

In his literary work he always leaned on and borrowed from Arabic and other Oriental literary sources, in contradistinction to his great contemporary and one of his best friends, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje of Leiden (1857-1936) who, apart from the historical chapters, based his books on his own personal observations made on the spot. Withal, Goldziher, having no confidence in card-indices, had an individual working method. He had all the original copies of his own works inter-leaved, and inserted his later addenda in the appropriate passages. Small wonder that his decades-long additions and insertions often increased his works to double or treble the original sizes.

Of course, his working method presupposed a comprehensive library. As a voracious reader he was a diligent collector of books. On this point too, he followed an individual policy. When he as a young doctor in 1873-4 made a journey of eight months in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria with the scholarship of the Hungarian government, he bought up for the library of the Hungarian Academy of Science all the standard works of Arabic and other Islamic literatures then available in print in the Middle East. On returning home, he remained the Middle Eastern bibliographical expert of the Hungarian Academy of Science. Having in an ever-increasing number received both Western and Oriental editions of Arabic books at his private address, later he ordered only such works for the Academy library as he either did not possess or was not likely to receive for his private library. His desire to avoid duplicates was motivated not only by his opinion that it would be a luxury for a poor country like Hungary to collect duplicates—he was ever willing to lend books from his private library to occasional researchers—but also by his intention of having his private library united with the Academy library after his death.

Shortly after his passing away I was asked by his widow to take stock of his private library. It was only then that I gained a systematic view of his exceptionally rich collection. For a period of thirty years, from about 1890 till his death on November 13, 1921, he received practically every printed book and periodical in his field. His library consisted of 6,000 volumes, with 4,3000 works by 2,600 authors. Among these there figured 600 Arab as well as 50 Persian and Turkish authors with a total of 800 works, partly Western and partly Oriental prints. Semitic philology and other branches of Oriental studies were represented by 770 authors with 1,600 headings in twelve Western and five Oriental languages. *Hebraica* and *Judaica* were represented by 400 authors with 750 headings, and modern Biblical sciences by 300 works. Six hundred authors with 800 headings represented various ancient and modern, non-

Oriental, fields of study. The headings were smaller works, several of them bound in one digest. The Oriental printed works include many unique prints from the presses of Egypt, Syria, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Istanbul, Turkestan, Persia, India and Java. A number of encyclopaedias, dictionaries, catalogues, and annual society reports supplemented his library.

Very unfortunately for the later development of Arabic and Islamic studies in Hungary, the heart's desire of Goldziher to unite his private library with the public library of the Hungarian Academy of Science, to which, as we have seen, it was a complement, could not come true. After his death his son, Charles (1880-1955), a Professor of Applied Mathematics, actually wanted to sell it to the Academy of Science; because of the post-World War I financial troubles of Hungary, which went through a period of inflation, however, his efforts to this end remained fruitless. In 1924 a fortunate incident helped the matter on. The occasion was a dinner party in Chicago attended by a distant American relative of Ignace Goldziher, Miss Suzy Kahn, who had just returned from Europe where she had also attended his funeral at Budapest. Seated next to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the future President of Israel, she fell into conversation with him, which turned on the library of Ignace Goldziher. On hearing that it was not yet disposed of, Weizmann immediately set about raising funds in the United States, adding some of his own to them, to purchase it from Charles Goldziher for approximately $ 30-35,000. [4] Thus the precious library reached Jerusalem, where it was placed in a separate little building on Mt. Scopus, forming part of the library of the Hebrew University.

This library does not contain the interleaved copies of Goldziher's works which, with their profuse additional insertions and notes, were ripe for the much-awaited second edition as early as their author's death. In the thirties his son frequently discussed this matter of re-edition with the present writer; however, the troubled international atmosphere of those years did not bid fair for the success of such an important venture, the realization of which would have taken several years, and my years-long correspondence to this end did not bear fruit. World War II occurred and put off the matter for an indefinite period. When in March, 1944, the German army occupied Hungary and began "the final settlement of the Jewish problem," in plain English, the extermination of Jewry in Hungary, Charles Goldziher asked me to keep his father's *Freytag*, which was enlarged by Ignace Goldziher's insertions until the day of his death. On my inquiry about the interleaved copies of his father's *opera magna*, Charles curtly answered me that he disposed of them "elsewhere." I did not see him for a whole

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[4] I owe this information to Mrs. Klara G. Roman of New York, the niece of Ignace Goldziher.

year because he with his family was carried away from Budapest by the Hungarian Nazis.[5] When, in the spring of 1945, after the liberation of Hungary from the Nazis, I met him again, I told him that I had safely kept my master's *Freytag* which I had walled up in the wine-cellar of my family house. I was dismayed to learn that all his father's works had been lost during the siege in a storage cave which happened to be *quite near my family house*! Like all the other persecuted persons, he distributed his valuables among different friends to be kept. Unfortunately, he gave his father's interleaved books to the owner of a cave which lay in the area of a war factory and was as such closely watched by both the German and, after the liberation, the Russian military. Thus Oriental studies suffered an irreparable loss during the siege of Budapest in 1944-5.

While admiring the profuse literary work of Ignace Goldziher one must bear in mind the primitive technical equipment of his time. In the Central Europe of his day typewriters were almost exclusively used in offices, so that even towards the end of his life, that is, during the first post-World War I years, a private typewriter was a very rare spectacle. Fountain pens too were rare and very expensive, most of them being British or American imports. It is small wonder that Goldziher never used a typewriter and possessed only one fountain pen which he had received in 1904 at St. Louis, Missouri, where he, on the invitation of the American government, took part in the Congress of Arts and Sciences held in connection with the World Exhibition of the same place and year. However, he never made a regular use of the fountain pen except for insertions in his copy of Freytag's *Lexicon arabico-latinum*. During the whole of his lifetime he wrote every single word with his own hand in his characteristic small pearl-like letters, using common steel-pens and an old-style inkstand.

GOLDZIHER AS A MAN

A scholar's character is faithfully mirrored in his work. Universality was, accordingly, the fundamental trait in Goldziher's character. Just as he bore mankind as a whole in mind in all his writings, so his friendship was not confined to the exclusive and small circle of the Orientalists only but embraced intellectual people of the most various races, colors, religions, and vocations. His human greatness and attractive personality made a deep and lasting impression on everybody who met him even once only. And his friendship knew no national or denominational bounds.

Many of his contemporaries were surprised at his sociability, a striking feature in a scholar whose field was so distant from men's common walks of life. Yet those who, like his intimate pupils, knew

[5] His wife and his only son were killed by the Nazis at Bruck an der Leith in Austria, near the Hungarian border. He himself escaped safely and lived in retirement until his death on Nov. 6, 1955.

him more closely were very well aware that his geniality and helpfulness were the outcome of his deep religious feeling. As a child he was educated in the Jewish faith, which was nurtured in his riper years by the systematic study of the Bible and the Talmud. Yet he harmonized not only science with religion but also the teachings of the three monotheistic religions with each other. He frequently mentioned that without his Jewish faith he could never have been able to appreciate Islam, for he was deeply impressed with its monotheism. The differentiation between the Qur'ān and the *sunna* became clear to him because he grew up in the reverence of the written and the oral tradition; and just as Jewish tradition sepratates the Halācha from the Haggada, so does Muslim tradition combine the legal prescriptions with the narratives of ethical or eschatological character. The same applies to his knowledge of Christianity, not only of the New Testament, the Greek original of which always lay on his desk besides his Arabic Qur'ān, but also Eastern and Western Christian, both Protestant and Catholic, dogmatics and Church history. Even his Christian theological students learnt not a little Christian theology from him. More than once did he voice his conviction that just as the study of post-Biblical Judaism needs an intrinsic knowledge of the New Testament and the Church Fathers, so the study of early Christianity needs the knowledge of the Talmud, and the study of Islam needs the study of both the Jewish and the Christian extra-Biblical early literature. It may seem surprising that whereas he discussed the relation of the Muslim *ḥadīth* to the New Testament [6] he did not elaborate the relation of the Muslim to the Jewish. However, he frequently mentioned to us that he intended to have this task fulfilled with his Jewish rabbinical students. Some of them actually wrote their doctoral theses from this fertile field of study. So far as Judaism was concerned, he himself turned his attention to the study of Jewish-Muslim connections, with special emphasis on medieval Jewish religious philosophy. And he was really the master of this very complex and difficult discipline. A. S. Yahuda, one of his early pupils, mentions [7] in this connection that before World War I the Egyptian scholars unanimously stated that Goldziher was the only European scholar "to understand Islam," and since he was a religious Jew "they trusted in his fairness and the uprightness of his intention."

When C. H. Becker stated: "Goldziher was a Jew, a Jew with conviction and pride," [8] he emphasized only Goldziher's religious conviction which, however, had no political flavor. In this connection it is relevant to elucidate his attitude to Zionism. On this point Bernard Heller, his bibliographer, writes as follows: "Yahuda related that Goldziher once in a nightly hour indulged in his fancy to spend his last

[6] His pertinent chapter of the *Muhammedanische Studien* appeared also in English translation, *Hadīth and the New Testament,* London, 1902.
[7] In his *Ever va aráv,* New York, 1946, p. 215.
[8] "Ignaz Goldziher," *Der Islam* XII, Berlin, 1922, p. 217.

years in the Holy City, surrounded in a traditional manner with a group of pupils and reciting a Talmudic *shi'ur* ... However, this may have been a passing reverie in his mind. In fact, he was far from Zionism. He wanted the persecuted Jews to find a home in the Holy Land, *that Jews, Christians, and Muslims might live there in brotherhood together* (my italics); he felt and admitted that the love of Zion resounds in the prayers so dear to him. This much links him to Zionism. Nothing more. His profound religion was not mixed with any kind of nationalistic element. On this point he made a fundamental statement in his letter to Joseph Bánóczi in 1889: 'Jewry is a religion, and not an ethnographical concept. As far as my nationality is concerned, I am a Trans-Danubian Hungarian, and for my religion I am a Jew ... On leaving Jerusalem for Hungary I said that I was returning home ... Man is a result of historical circumstances, and his character is determined by these circumstances, and not by his skull index.' ... After the war he was invited to the Holy Land to deliver lectures and promote understanding with the Muslims. For this fine task he then felt no longer young enough. His opinion was also asked concerning the organization of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In a Hebrew memorial he expounded the special duties of this University, deriving them from the history, essential features, and the Muslim environment of the Holy Land." [9]

How much his heart's desire was the Arab-Jewish compromise he manifested at a house festival celebrating his 70th birthday on June 22, 1920, which I as a young student witnessed. First, he received a congratulatory telegram from the Minister of Public Instruction, a notorious anti-Semite, asking him to serve after the age of retirement, which was 70. Then, having received congratulations from the Acting Secretary of State, the Minister of Public Instruction and other dignitaries, he thanked the persons present in Hungarian and turned to his Syrian Christian pupil, Reverend Abdul-Ahad Dominique Bashīr Miskūnī, and said to him in Arabic as follows: "I have firmly hoped in my whole life that the time will come when Arabs and Jews, making peace with each other, will cooperate in the resurrection of Israel and the Arab people. If you return to your native country, tell your brethren that I have worked during the whole of my lifetime for your people and for my people." [10]

Just as his Jewish faith went beyond confessional limits and was ecumenical in the sense that he recognized all the religions to be based on the same moral principles, so, on the other hand, the international character of his research work did not prevent him from being a patriot of his country. "Scholarship has no country, but the scholar does have

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[9] "Goldziher Ignác emlékezete," *IMIT* 1932. Évkönyve, Budapest, 1932, pp. 24-5.

[10] Cf. also L. Massignon, *In memoriam Ignace Goldziher* in Bernard Heller, *Bibliographie des oeuvres d'Ignace Goldziher,* Paris 1927 (Publications de l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes), p. XVI.

his country," he used to say whenever he referred to his numerous invitations to foreign universities. He professed himself a Hungarian everywhere and always, and, except for short visits to international scientific congresses, never left his country. He considered Hungarian as his mother tongue, despite the fact that he wrote most of his works in German. For the rest, the preliminary studies of his German works he always wrote in Hungarian, [11] but he also wrote in Hungarian on subjects he never discussed in other languages. His literary work in Hungarian alone would secure to him a prominent place in the scientific literary history of his own country. And, insignificant a point as it may be, though the incorrect German orthography of his name, Goldziher, instead of Goldzieher, was a clerical error made by the clerk of the register office of his birthplace, he insisted on it as a mark of his Hungarian origin. He never took part in the political or social life of his country; yet he was deeply shocked at the dismemberment of Hungary after World War I, and I remember him writing around to his foreign friends on behalf of his country, before the conclusion of the peace treaty of Trianon.

Ignace Goldziher anticipated his age with all his qualities. As a teacher he was a friend of his pupils, representing the modern pedagogic view which emphasizes cooperation between teacher and pupil, instead of inspiring the latter with an awe of the former. As a scholar he laid the foundation of Islamology as an independent discipline with its own research methods, which has only come to its own in our time with the ever-increasing economic and political importance of the Middle East

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[11] This was also the case with the only textbook he wrote under the title *A Short History of Arabic Literature.* In 1908 he was commissioned by the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Common Finance of Vienna, the supreme agency in control of the civil administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to write this textbook for the Muslim high schools of these provinces. Though he was expected to write it in German, Goldziher insisted on its composition in Hungarian because he shared the view of the Hungarian constitutional lawyers that the legal basis of the Austro-Hungarian occupation and subsequent annexation of these provinces was that, prior to their Ottoman occupation, they had belonged to Hungary. Actually, it was from his Hungarian manuscript that the book was in the same year translated into Croatian, and forty years later into English.

Its English translation, made by the present writer, exemplifies the validity of the old Latin adage, *Habent sua fata libelli.* It was during World War II that I translated this book and enlarged it with the necessary additional material with the object of mailing it abroad after the war. Late in 1945 I sent my typescript to A.S. Yahuda, then Professor of Yale University, suggesting its publication in the United States. In view of the unfavorable printing conditions in this country in those post-war years, he was unable to do so; however, he promised me to do what he could "somewhere in the Orient." No further news from him reached me until his death, nor was his widow able to tell me of my typescript. Finally, in 1955 I received a letter from the Islamic Culture Board of Hyderabad, informing me that A. S. Yahuda had mailed it to them shortly before his death but, evidently, could no longer inform me of it, whereas they were waiting for my directions. Having established contact with me, they finally published the book in 1957-8, in six installments in *Islamic Culture,* setting a fine example of international intellectual co-operation: the work of a *Jewish* author in the translation and enlargement of a *Christian* was published by a *Muslim* editor.

in world affairs. As a man he was the noble personification of goodwill to all and the spirit of humanism which transcended all national, religious or language barriers. The very fact that after his death more and more of his works have appeared in translations into Western and Oriental languages alike, alone testifies to the pioneering character of his labour. It is no exaggeration to speak of a Goldziher-renascence in our time. He was, is, and will be the great teacher, scholar, and man from whom many future generations will learn not only Islamology but also the most important of human things, humanism and international cooperation.

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ON THE ETHICS OF THE BRETHREN OF PURITY

(Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ wa Khillān al-Wafāʾ)

VI

The literature about Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ is a hotchpotch of accusations, suspicions and misunderstandings regarding who they were, or sectarian defenses that they belonged to this or that party or sect, and fanatic apologies seeking to identify them with this or that party or sect. Perhaps no case illustrates better the story of the elephant and the four blind men who tried to identify it after each had touched a different part of its body. It is a great relief, after surveying this literature, to come back to the essay of A. L. Tibawi [94] and the more comprehensive and recent study of Professor Adil ʿAwwa. [95]

The most popular accusation or apology of the Ikhwān is that which concerns their connection with Shīʿism, and more particularly Ismāʿīlism. The Ismāʿīlīs themselves have been claiming the Ikhwān and referring to the *Rasāʾil* as embodiments of their doctrines for many centuries. [96]

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[94] Tibawi, A. L., *Jamāʿat Ikhwān as Ṣafāʾ*, Al-Kulliyyah Review, Beirut, Vol. xvii, 1930-1.

[95] ʿAwwa, *op. cit., supra* n. 79.

[96] Hamdani, *op. cit.*, p. 281ff; and Tamir, *op. cit.* This claim has become popular among Western scholars with the discovery by M. Casanova of part of *al-Jāmiʿah* and some allusion to the *Rasāʾil* in the literature of the Assassins of Syria. (*Journal Asiatique,* 1898, Vol. XI, p. 151ff.) In his report about the discovery, Casanova argued that the *Rasāʾil* were of Ismāʿīlī provenance. ("Mais il y a certainement là," he wrote, "plus qu'une coïncidence, et c'est à mes yeux une preuve de plus de l'identité absolue des doctrines philosophiques chez les Ismaïliens et chez les Frères de la Pureté.", *op. cit.,* pp. 156-7.) Ivanow followed with the contention that the *Rasāʾil* are neither one man's work nor a society's but may have been produced "under the patronage of the early Fatimides, in connection with general work on the philosophy of Ismailism." (Ivanow, *op. cit.,* p. 31.) B. Lewis tried to prove the *connection* (Lewis, *Origins of Ismāʿīlism,* p. 44ff.) by arguing from two principles allegedly common to both the Ikhwān and Ismāʿīlism, namely, spiritual parenthood (Lewis, *op cit.,* p. 50.) and syncretism (*ibid.,* p. 94), and classified, in an appended bibliography, the *Rasāʾil* as "Ismāʿīli and Related Works." (*ibid.,* p. 104.) O'Leary argued that "the teaching (of the *Rasāʾil*) shows distinctly Shīʿī, probably Ismāʿīlī tendencies" by showing that "the Bāṭinī, or allegorical movement, had its roots in older non-Muslim thought, and presumably had survived in Lower Mesopotamia, Kūfah and Baṣrah (where the Ikhwān supposedly have first launched their movement), where were many ancient creeds, all more or less mixed up with politically subversive movements." (O'Leary, O., *How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs,* London, 1951, p. 180.) Relying on Casanova, R. A. Nicholson calls *al-Jāmiʿah* "manifestly Ismāʿīlite in character." (Nicholson, R. A., *Literary History of the Arabs, London,* p. 371.) After saying that the head of the Karmatite party was the originator of the Ikhwān movement, De Boer goes on to say that he combined "believers and freethinkers in a confederacy to endeavour to encompass the overthrow of the Abbasid government." (De Boer, *op. cit.,* p. 82.) Turning to the Ismāʿīlīs or their sympathisers, we find H. Hamdani (Hamdani, *op. cit.*) arguing from the content of the *Rasāʾil* to prove their connection with Ismāʿīlism. Lastly, ʿArif Tamir draws from the *Rasāʾil* some numerological principles as Casanova had done and follows them in an adept manipulation of numbers to establish the Ismāʿīlī connection which he then confirms by quoting Ismāʿīlī sources. (Tamir, *op. cit.*)

Against their claims, A. L. Tibawi has convincingly argued that, despite the fact that some ideas in the *Rasāʾil* could fit in or be made to agree with Ismāʿīlism, there has yet been produced no evidence "that the formation of Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ and the publication of their *Rasāʾil* was an Ismāʿīlī movement or even a movement concerned with any of the contemporary agitation of the Shīʿa." [97] It may not be granted even that the early Ismāʿīlīs have incorporated and used the *Rasāʾil* in their literature, as was advanced by Casanova [98] on the authority of Stanislas Guyard.[99] ʿAwwa, who has examined the "*Fragments*" referred to in these articles at the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, has exposed the shallow reasoning of D. Gunzburg who interpreted Guyard's discovery and of M. Casanova who built his theory on Gunzburg's. [100]

Furthermore, Hamdani's statement that "it is curious the *Rasāʾil* have been nowhere mentioned in all the literature under the patronage of the Fāṭimids in Egypt"; that "the Dāʿīs who flourished during the time of the Fāṭimids in Egypt do not mention even once the name of the Rasāʾil"; that "even the later great Dāʿīs of the Fāṭimids such as Nāsir-i-Khusraw, al-Muʾayyad fīʾd-Dīn, Badr al-Jamālī, and Abūʾl-Barakāt never mention the name of the *Rasāʾil*" [101] ought to have a sobering influence on any enthusiasm for the Ismāʿīlist thesis and are tantamount to a refutation of Ivanow's claim. [102] Neither Hamdani's nor Tāmir's reliance on *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* of the Dāʿī Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn (died

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[97] Tibawi, A. L., "Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ and Their Rasāʾil," *Islamic Quarterly*, April 1955, pp. 33-34.

[98] Casanova, *op. cit.*

[99] Guyard, Stanislas, "Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaʿélis," Paris, 1874 (Extraits du Tôme XXII, pp. 177-428, des Notices des Mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale); and "Un grand Maître des Assassins du temps de Saladin", *Journal Asiatique*, 1877.

[100] ʿAwwa, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6, 37-40. Guyard rightly claimed that a certain line is found in both the *Rasāʾil* and in the Assassin manuscript word for word. He called it a "*point de contact*" between the two. Under the hand of Gunzburg, Prof. ʿAwwa has shown, the "*point de contact*" has become an "affinité qui a depuis longtemps frappé plusieurs esprits et que le manuscrit No. 230 de la dite collection confirme." Compressing a *non sequitur* and a falsification of Guyard's purpose in one sentence, Gunzburg concluded "comme les deux traités qui suivent celui-ci dans notre manuscrit sont de provenance Ismāʿīlite, on peut trouver en ceci une confirmation de ce qu'avance mon regretté maître Guyard." (Quoted by Prof. ʿAwwa, *op. cit.*, p. 36.) The manuscript in question, Prof. ʿAwwa explains, has 129 folios of which the passage from *al-Jāmiʿah* covers the pages 116-120. These and the two folios preceding were written with different ink, on different paper and by different hands from the rest. Moreover, at the end of p. 113 the catchwords of the following page *(Rubbamā ḥakama)*, reproduced in the bottom margin, do not appear on p. 114. Page 121 *et seq.* reproduce the same ink, paper and handwriting of the folios prior to p. 114. (*ibid.*, pp. 38-9.) All of this, Prof. ʿAwwa shows, proves that the manuscript in question constitutes no evidence of such connection, not even of a unilateral, Ikhwān to Assassin influence. Further evidence against Casanova's contention has been adduced by A. L. Tibawi. (*op. cit.* in fn. 97, *supra*).

[101] ʿAwwa, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

[102] Elsewhere (Ivanow, *The Alleged Founder of Ismāʿīlism.* Bombay, 1946, p. 147.) Ivanow himself wrote that he did not find any quoting of the *Rasāʾil* in Ismāʿīlī literature earlier than al-Ḥākim's time (386-411 A.H.).

872 A.H.) in support of such a claim could be trusted after Aḥmad Zakī's demonstration of the fictitiousness of *ᶜUyūn al-Akhbār* as belonging to the said Dāᶜī or to his age.[103] The voice of M. Stern ought to be added to this anti-Ismaᶜīlist chorus of arguments. "... There is a profound discrepancy," he wrote, "between their (the Ikhwān's) radicalism and the moderation of official Fāṭimid theology as it appeared in the newly found literature."[104]

More important, however, is the divergence of the Ismāᶜīlist thesis from the doctrine of the *Rasāʾil* themselves. Granted that some principles or statements can be construed as harmonizing with Ismāᶜīlism, there are many others which resist any such harmonization. Ismāᶜīlism cannot be reconciled with the *Rasāʾil* without violence to a whole number of principles which the Ikhwān regarded as cardinal to their system.[105]

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[103] *Rasāʾil,* Cairo Edition, Introduction by Aḥmad Zakī, pp. 17-44.

[104] Stern, M., *op. cit.,* p. 368.

[105] It is inconceivable for Ismāᶜīlism as well as for Shīᶜism in general to relinquish either the yearning for an Imām, or the need for one, or both, as the Ikhwān have done. "And this is also the case with the person who thinks and believes that the worthy, expected, guiding Imām is hidden, incapable of revealing himself out of fear of those who dissent with him ... and know that such a person will spend all his life waiting for his Imām to appear, yearning for his coming, impatiently expecting him, and that he will spend his whole life and perish in sorrow and anxiety without ever seeing his Imām or ever knowing his identity ... Know that such false views ... and ... evil beliefs ..." (*Rasāʾil,* Vol. IX, p. 524.) In this connection it is not possible to argue, as M. Casanova has done (Casanova, *op. cit.,* p. 16.) that the statement—"And of the Shīᶜah, ... some say that the expected Imām is hidden out of fear for his enemies, but he is present (apparent) among them and knows them though they recognize him not." (*Rasāʾil,* Vol. X, p. 148.)—refers to the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ẓāhir li Iᶜzāz Dīn Allāh who ruled between 411 and 427 A.H., since his title name al-Ẓāhir is the same word which occurs in the statement translated as "present" or "apparent." Reason too upheld as Imām in other parts of the *Rasāʾil* is "apparent." Besides being an unwarranted play on words, Casanova's contention still has to face the far graver objection brought up by the discovery of Tawhīdī's diaries, that the *Rasāʾil* were known in their complete version in 373 A.H. Furthermore, the Ikhwān wrote, "And know that the virtuous and wise, if they allow their reason to be complemented by the Sharīᶜah-Giver, do not need a principal (*imām*) to be their chief (*raʾīs*), to command, prohibit, coerce or judge them, because reason and the influence of the Sharīᶜah-Giver supplant the Imām-chief. So let us, O brother, turn to the *Sharīᶜah* for guidance and make it our Imām in that which we have set ourselves to do." (*Rasāʾil,* Vol. X, p. 137.) "In case all these qualities (of the Imām) are not jointly available in one person, but severally realized in many persons, in their association, it is possible for them to agree, to endear themselves to one another and to co-operate for the welfare of the religion ... power in this world would then become theirs and they become worthy of eternal reward in the next." (*Rasāʾil,* Vol. X, p. 125.) All these statements run diametrically counter to the Shīᶜī theses on the Imāms and the Imāmate. Finally, if the Ikhwān have ever regarded themselves as Shīᶜah, they could not have devoted a section to addressing the Shīᶜah exclusively and inviting them to join their brotherhood. (*Rasāʾil,* Vol. XI, pp. 125-96.) If, on the other hand, they regarded themselves as a Shīᶜī dissident group at variance with the other groups whom they were trying to convert, some evidence of the many points of agreement between them ought to have came out in this section. But no such common agreement on any Shīᶜī principle is in evidence. It is also doubtful, had this been the case, that they would call their view by such a strong word as *madhhab* when addressing the Shīᶜah, unless they regarded themselves a new sect, alternative to the Shīᶜah.

Another popular charge often directed to the Ikhwān is the allegation that the *Rasāʾil* contain doctrines "on an esoteric basis, meant to be read only by those members of the Daʿwat who were initiated into the secret cult." [106] The truth is that no such esotericism is in evidence. Their teaching was by no means directed to the few, but to all the people. This the Ikhwān have held from the beginning; and to this effect we have the words of the contemporaries of the Ikhwān-authors of the *Rasāʾil* in the diaries of Tawḥīdī. [107] The Ikhwān statement, common to many treatises, that they have a teaching which only those who have followed them can fathom or know cannot be construed as esotericism. Since reason is their highest principle and people are not equally endowed therewith, it follows that to understand their doctrine some preparation is necessary. Hence their concern with education, their view that it constitutes the noblest and worthiest purpose of society and function of state. Esotericism would demand, on the other hand, initiation, rather than rational education and would hold that a given doctrine is incomprehensible to anybody, however endowed and educated he may be, as long as he is not initiated. This runs diametrically counter to the Ikhwān's rationalism and intellectualism. "Know," wrote the Ikhwān, "that the holy books have a conspicuous comment revealed in the legible and audible words; but they have an inconspicuous, inner (Bāṭinī) interpretation (content?), namely, the understandable and ratiocinational meanings." [108] Certainly no "mysteries" can be "understood" or "ratiocinated".

De Boer, B. Lewis and O'Leary have not given any instance where the *Rasāʾil* demand esoteric knowledge. They expressed the view without giving detailed references. Hamdani, on the other hand, by giving the instances he did, furnished the proof against his own view. For what is esoteric is not what he quoted from the *Rasāʾil* text but his own interpretation of it, presumably drawn from Ismāʿīlī sources. [109]

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[106] Hamdani, *op. cit.*, p. 284. De Boer expresses a similar view when he says, "Knowledge, as we have it in the encyclopaedia, was probably reserved for initiated members of the higher grade." (De Boer, *op. cit.*, p. 84.)

[107] "They have distributed the *Rasāʾil* to all the bookstores and spoonfed them to the people claiming that they did this only ... to save the people from the mischievous false views." (Tawḥīdī, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 5.) Al-Ḥarīrī had accused the Ikhwān of contradicting by word what they implied by deed. He alleged that they preached that philosophy is for the few and *Sharīʿah* is for the many, whereas they wrote the *Rasāʾil* in popular style and addressed them to the people at large. When faced with this charge, Abū Sulaymān al-Bistī, one of the authors of the *Rasāʾil*, did not question that the *Rasāʾil* were meant to be read by the people, thus implying that he did not regard their philosophy as esoteric. The reservation of philosophy to the few must then be either a misquotation or have a meaning other than the esoteric. (*ibid.*, p. 13.)

[108] *Rasāʾil*, Vol. X, p. 138.

[109] For instance, he understands by the Arabic *maʿānī* (meanings) what no non-Ismāʿīlī does in fact understand, namely, "mysteries". (Hamdani, *op. cit.*, p. 285.) He interprets *al-salāmu ʿalā ʿibādihi ʾlladhi iṣṭafā... i.e.*, "greetings on those of His worshippers whom God has selected," which occurs at the beginning of some chapters of the *Rasāʾil*, as "saluations" pronounced upon the Imāms

The Ismāʿīlist, as well as any others who seek to identify the Ikhwān with any sect, misunderstands the ethical essence of the Ikhwān movement. The Ikhwān cannot even be called a sect without violence to their ethic. Unlike the Ismāʿīlīs, the Ikhwān were not at all concerned with advocating the political cause of ʿAlī. Nor did they ever conceive such advocacy as being in any sense relevant to any part of their teaching. As good Muslims, they hold ʿAlī and his descendants in great respect and are gripped with sorrow at the tragic happenings of Karbalāʾ. But this they do not exaggerate to the point where orthodox Muslims would not agree. And, more important, their whole point is ethical, not political or sectarian. The same is true of the *imām* and of his office, the *imāmah,* [110] which they have understood as reason, thus sweeping behind them three and a half centuries of petty disputation and opening the gates wide for an intellectualist humanism which they regarded as of the essence of Islam. [111]

Their ethical call, that is, their call to self-purification by knowledge and reason and to commitment to the Islamic *Ummah*-ideal, is misinterpreted as political, and their will to the utopian "better" as instigation to a Shīʿī resumption of power. Their intense search and desire for new norms and new values, or for values which they regarded as essential to Islam but to which the Muslims of their day were deaf, and hence their desire for new teachers, and new interpreters, are twisted to appear as a search for a hidden Imām. [112] How diametrically re-

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(ibid., p. 286), whereas this is a Qurʾanic phrase (*27* : 59) as well as a most common way to bless the souls of all the Muslims who have either by thought, piety or deed distinguished themselves in the service of Islam. He understands by *ṣāḥib al-Nāmūs al-akbar,* i.e., "the greatest possessor (or giver) of the Namus," the Imām; and by *ṣāḥib al-sharīʿah,* i.e., "the possessor (or giver) of the Sharīʿah," ʿAlī (ibid., p. 287). Actually, the former is a title reserved to God alone, for only He is *akbar* (the greatest), and the latter is definitely the Prophet, since it is usually coupled with *ṣallā Allāh ʿalayhi wa sallam* (God's prayer and greeting be upon him) (*Rasāʾil,* Vol. IX, p. 493), which is said with reference to the Prophet alone. Finally, his understanding the titles al-Ṣiddiq (the truthful), al-Fārūq (the discerning judge) and Dhū'l-Nurayn (the person of two lights) as referring to Ḥusayn, Ḥasan and ʿAlī (Hamdani, *op. cit.,* p. 289), instead of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, is a flagrant misinterpretation of titles whose denotative reference was crystallized three centuries before the advent of the Ikhwān. In short, this Ismāʿīlī writing is so rich in *non sequitur* arguments that it must have a logic all of its own.

[110] Professor ʿAwwa has shown that the Ikhwān have used the word Imām for its literal meaning (free of any Ismāʿīlī or doctrinal value—which is anathema to all Shīʿī sects), as when they wrote: "Vanity is the Imām of damnation, the chief of ignorance." (ʿAwwa, *op. cit.,* p. 44.)

[111] After turning the vials of their wrath over those of Shīʿī affiliations in the first chapter of the Seventh *Risālah,* they counsel the reader in these words: "O brother, we warn you against belonging to those people. On the contrary, you yourself ought to be a Hādi, a Mahdi, an enlightened, sympathetic physician full of sweetness and dedicated to curing your less fortunate brethren, friends and neighbours." (*Rasāʾil,* Vol. X, p. 148.)

[112] With a rabid sectarianism forcing him to capitalize the I, T, Y and M, Mr. Hamdani writes that "it is obviously Imām, Teacher and Young Man who is meant here and anyone who believes in his Imāmat and takes the word of allegiance to him, whether he is concealed or known, forms a unit of this universal

moved is all Shīᶜī sectarianism from the universalism of the Ikhwān, from their universalist explanation of sectarian multiplicity which is attributable, according to them, to the lack of a good leader, rather than the presence of a persecuted one. [113] And since multiplicity of sects is a fact, it becomes in the Ikhwān system a blessing, rather than the curse of the sectarian, as it affords to the truth so many opportunities to come out which can only benefit man. [114] Having conceded supremacy to reason, to dialectics and education, they did not fail to grasp the value of disagreement. Nor did they lack the necessary optimism to approach the conflicting plurality of views with the confidence that theirs will surpass them all in clarity, evidence and comprehensiveness. [115] By confusing them with the power-hungry *Qarāmiṭa,* and interpreting their organization as having for its object "to conquer political power," [116] De Boer has missed the whole sense of their mission. The Ikhwān were interested not in political power but solely in the building of an *Ummah* in which every member may achieve blessedness. Their aproach was liberal, tolerant and, above all, free and rational. Hence, their attempt to rationalize every provision of the *Nāmūs,* often at the cost of missing some meaning in the process of allegorization. Their purpose was always rationalistic through and through. Contrary to De Boer's statement that they demanded blind obedience, they counselled the prospective member not to obey blindly but to subject everthing to a scrupulous examination by reason, "Allah's vindicator and the authorized judge of all difference man may have with his peers." [117] Their tolerance De Boer and B. Lewis misunderstood as syncretism and their open-mindedness to truth as eclecticism, whereas their Noah, their Abraham, their Jesus, and to a large extent even their Socrates and Plato were Islamic first and second, and Jewish, Christian or Greek only in third place. The connection between personal salvation and commitment to the *Ummah,* which is a cornerstone in any Islamic ethic and, *a fortiori,* in the Ikhwān's, is incomphehensible to the individualist mind. It is not surprising that the Ikhwān ethics is

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Brotherhood.." Hamdani deduces all this from the Ikhwān's statement, *viz.,* "teacher who is broad-minded, friend of knowledge, seeker of truth and who does not fanatically hold one opinion in the matter of religions." (Hamdani, *op. cit.,* p. 291.) How the former statement follows from this statement escapes the present writer.

[113] *Rasāᵓil,* Vol. X, p. 137.

[114] Multiplicity of sects is desirable so that religion may not be narrow and exclusive in meaning but tolerant and interpretable. (*Rasāᵓil,* Vol. IX, pp. 405-6.)

[115] "That you may know that the seveners, ... the dualists, ... the naturalists, ... the Christians, ... the Hindus, (etc.) have partial views and incomprehensive theories ... And that is not the case with the Ikhwān ... (whose) view is comprehensive, discussion is general, knowledge is total and whose wisdom includes all things." (*Rasāᵓil,* Vol. II, p. 217.)

[116] De Boer, *op. cit.,* p. 81.

[117] *Rasāᵓil,* Vol. V, p. 29.

interpreted as "Philosophy ... completely transformed into a mythology of politics" [118] and that its "analysis" reads like pages torn from the report of a colonial police officer. Plato himself, from this point of view, would have written his *Republic* in vain.

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[118] De Boer, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

A ṢŪFĪ PSYCHOLOGICAL TREATISE

A translation of the *Bayān al-Farq bayn al-Ṣadr wa al-Qalb wa al-Fuʾād wa al-Lubb* [1] of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī.

Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, the author of the treatise presented here in translation, flourished in Khurāsān and Transoxiana during the third century after the *Hijrah*. He is mentioned in most of the Arabic and Persian biographical sources, but these contain little information concerning his life other than the names of his teachers and disciples and some of his more important works. No date is given for his birth, and various dates ranging from 255 to 320 A.H. are given for his death. His autobiography [2], which is a rather curious work concerned principally with the dreams of his wife, gives us only scanty information, mainly on the early years of his life. From it we learn that he began his studies when he was eight years old and that these studies included the science of traditions (*ʿilm al-āthār*) and the science of opinion (*ʿilm al-raʾy*). At the age of 27 he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and on the way spent some time in ʿIrāq gathering traditions.

Al-Tirmidhī was a prolific writer and some sixty titles are ascribed to him. Most of these have survived as MSS. to the present day, but very few have as yet been edited and printed. Detailed information on his life and works can be found in my article "Some Biographical and Bibliographical Notes on al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī" in *The World of Islam, Studies in Honour of Philip K. Hitti,* edited by James Kritzeck and R. Bayly Winder, London 1959, pp. 121-134; and in the article of Othman Yahya, "L'Oeuvre de Tirmiḏī" in *Mélanges Louis Massignon,* vol. III, Damascus 1957, pp. 411-450.

Al-Tirmidhī's psychological system, as given of the *Bayān al-Farq,* is primarily concerned with a description of the heart (*qalb*) and the self (*nafs*). The basic elements of the system and the vocabulary used are all derived from the *Qurʾān* and the *ḥadīth*. Their arrangement into a fairly coherent system, however, is the result of al-Tirmidhī's own creative thought.

Al-Tirmidhī divides the heart into four parts or, as he calls them, stations (*maqāmāt*). These are the breast (*ṣadr*), the heart proper (*qalb*), the inner heart (*fuʾād*), and the intellect (*lubb*). They are arranged in concentric spheres, the breast being the outermost sphere followed on the inside by the heart, the inner heart and finally the intellect. Within the intellect are yet other stations which, however, are too subtle to be described by words.

Each of these stations of the heart has its own characteristics and

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[1] The Elucidation of the Difference between the Breast, the Heart, the Inner Heart, and the Intellect.

[2] Badʾ Shaʾn Abī ʿAbd Allāh, MS, Ismāʿīl Ṣāʾib 1571, 9.

functions. Thus the breast is the abode (*maᶜdin*) of the light of Islam (*nūr al-islām*). Al-Tirmidhī uses Islam here in a restricted sense to mean the physical acts performed in obedience to God's commandments such as prayer, fasting, etc. The breast is thus also the repository of that type of knowledge (*ᶜilm*) which enables one to perform these acts, such as knowledge of the *sharīᶜah*. This knowledge is gained through listening to a teacher or through reading and may be lost through forgetfulness.

The heart proper, which is within the breast, is the abode of the light of faith (*nūr al-īmān*). By faith is meant the acceptance by the heart of the truth of God's revelation. The light of faith is constant and neither increases nor decreases. It is thus different from the light of Islam, which increases and decreases in accordance with one's works and one's acts of obedience or disobedience. The heart is also the abode of what al-Tirmidhī calls the valuable or useful knowledge (*al-ᶜilm al-nāfiᶜ*). This is an interior knowledge of reality granted by God. It cannot be learned from books or from a teacher as can that type of knowledge associated with the breast.

The inner heart is the abode of the light of gnosis (*nūr al-maᶜrifah*). It is associated with the vision (*ruᵓyah*) of reality. Whereas the heart has mere knowledge of reality, the inner heart actually sees reality.

The intellect, the innermost sphere of the heart, is the abode of the light of unification (*nūr al-tawḥīd*). It is the basis of the three outer spheres and is the recipient of God's grace and bounty.

Each of these four stations of the heart is associated with one of the four spiritual ranks of the Ṣūfī. Thus the breast and the light of Islam within it correspond to the first rank, that of the *muslim*. The light of faith in the heart corresponds to the believer (*muᵓmin*), the light of gnosis in the inner heart to the gnostic (*ᶜārif*), and the light of unification in the intellect to the highest rank, that of the unifier (*muwaḥḥid*).

The self (*nafs*), on the other hand, it not a part of the heart but a separate entity in the stomach. It is like a hot smoke and is the source of evil desires and passions. When these passions are not kept in check through spiritual disciplines, they escape from the self and enter into the breast filling it with smoke. The light of the heart within the breast is thus obscured by this smoke and can no longer illuminate the breast. The breast, in turn, being deprived of this illumination is no longer able to perform its proper functions but becomes subject to the authority of the self. The self, however, is powerless to affect the heart, and the light of faith within it remains firm and constant even when obscured by the dark passions which have entered into the breast.

Through discipline (*riyāḍah*), however, the self may be brought under control and made to pass through four stages of development corresponding to the four stages of the spiritual development of the Ṣūfī. Thus the self which exhorts to evil (*al-nafs al-ammārah bi al-sūᵓ*)

is the yet undisciplined self and belongs to the rank of the *muslim*. The inspired self (*al-nafs al-mulhamah*) is somewhat less evil and corresponds to the rank of the believer (*muʾmin*). The blaming self (*al-nafs al-lawwāmah*) is the self of the gnostic (*ʿārif*) and the peaceful self (*al-nafs al-muṭmaʾinnah*) that of the unifier (*muwaḥḥid*).

The main elements of al-Tirmidhī's system are summarized in the following chart:

BREAST (ṣadr)	HEART (qalb)	INNER HEART (fuʾād)	INTELLECT (lubb)
light of Islam (*nūr al-islām*)	light of faith (*nūr al-īmān*)	light of gnosis (*nūr al-maʿrifah*)	light of unification (*nūr al-tawḥīd*)
muslim	believer (*muʾmin*)	gnostic (*ʿārif*)	unifier (*muwaḥḥid*)
knowledge of *sharīʿah, etc.*	interior knowledge from God	vision (*ruʾyah*)	God's grace and bounty
self which exhorts to evil (*al-nafs al-ammārah bi al-sūʾ*)	inspired self (*al-nafs al-mulhamah*)	blaming self (*al-nafs al-lawwāmah*)	peaceful self (*al-nafs al-muṭmaʾinnah*)

The only MS. of al-Tirmidhī's *Bayān al-Farq* known to exist is that of Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah in Cairo listed under taṣawwuf 367. This MS. was edited by myself and published in Cairo in 1958, and the present translation has been prepared from it. The MS. itself is carelessly written and contains a number of errors and corrupt passages. Although it was possible to correct and reconstruct many of these passages in the printed edition, the meaning of some of them remains unclear and can only be conjectured from the context. Such passages have been indicated in the notes.

Brackets have been placed around all words and phrases not found in the Arabic text but which have been added in the translation to clarify the meaning. The numbers in the margins refer to the page numbers of the Arabic printed edition.

Translations of verses from the *Qurʾān* are based on the translation of Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall.[3] In the notes, however, the numbers of the verses are those of the standard Egyptian edition of the *Qurʾān*.[4] When these differ from those given in Pickthall's translation, Pickthall's numbers have been given in parentheses after the Egyptian numbers.

[3] Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran,* New York, Mentor Books, 1953.

[4] Second edition, Maṣlaḥat al-Masāḥah and Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, 1371/1952.

TRANSLATION

(33) In the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate. O my Lord, give ease and help.

Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Tirmidhī said: One of the people of learning and understanding has asked me to explain the difference between the breast (*ṣadr*), the heart (*qalb*), the inner heart (*fuʾād*), and the intellect (*lubb*), as well as what is beyond them, such as the depths of the heart (*shaghāf*), and the places of knowledge. I should like to explain [this] to him with the help of God, for He makes easy all that is difficult, and I therefore ask His help.

[Part One: the Stations of the Heart]

Know then, may God increase your understanding in religion, that the word "heart" (*qalb*) is comprehensive and includes [in its meaning] all the interior stations (*maqāmāt al-bāṭin*), for in the interior [of man] there are places that are outside the heart and others that are within it. The word "heart" is similar to the word "eye," since "eye" includes [in its meaning] that which lies between the two eyelashes, such as the black and white parts of the eye, the pupil, and the light within the pupil. Each of these parts has its own nature and a meaning different from that of the others. Nevertheless, they act in concert and the functions of each are connected with those of the others. Moreover, each part which is on the outside is the basis of that which follows it on the inside. Thus the subsistence of the light [of the pupil] depends on the subsistence of the other [part of the eye].

Similarly the word "homestead" (*dār*) is a term which includes everything contained within its walls, such as the gate, the corridor, the court surrounded by its houses, and such things as the closet and
(34) storeroom / Every place and position in it has its own characteristic different from that of its neighbor.

Likewise the word *ḥaram* is a term which includes the sacred area around Mecca, as well as the city, the mosque, and the *Kaᶜbah*; and each of these areas contains a different station [of the pilgrimage].

Again, the word *qindīl* is a comprehensive term for the [various parts of the] lamp. In the lamp the position of the water is different from that of the wick, and the position of the wick is different from that of the water, since the former is within the position of the water. Moreover, it is the wick which contains the light, and in the position of the wick is the oil, which has no water in it. Thus the fitness of the lamp depends on the fitness of all its parts, for if one of these is deficient, the others become useless.

Similarly the word "almond" is a term which includes the outer covering which surrounds the hard shell, the hard shell itself, which is like bone, as well as the nut or kernel within this shell, and the oil which is in the kernel.

Know, may God increase your understanding in religion, that there are marks and degrees in this religion, that its people are in various classes, and that the people of learning in it are in various ranks. God said: *And we have raised some of them above others in rank* [5]. He also said: *And over every lord of knowledge there is one more knowing.* [6] Thus as a science is more elevated, its position in the heart is more secret, more special, more protected, more concealed, and more veiled. Nevertheless, among common people, mention of the word "heart" takes the place of the mention of all its stations.

(35) / The breast, in the heart, is the station that corresponds to the white of the eye, to the court of the homestead, to the area that surrounds Mecca, to the place of the water in the lamp, or to the outer covering of the almond out of which the almond itself emerges if it dries on the tree.

The breast is the place where evil whispering (*waswās*) and misfortunes enter, just as the white of the eye is subject to the misfortune of pimples, inflammation of the veins, and many other diseases of the eye. In like manner, wood and refuse are put in the court of the homestead, and all sorts of strangers sometimes enter it, just as wild animals and beasts enter into the court of the *ḥaram,* or just as moths and other insects fall into the water of the lamp, for the oil is above the water, and the water constitutes its lowest part. Similarly maggots, gnats, and flies crawl into the outer covering of the almond if it splits open until even small worms enter into it.

That which enters into the breast is seldom felt at that time. It is the place of entry of rancor, desires, passions, and needs. At times it contracts and at other times it expands. It is also the area in which the self which exhorts to evil (*al-nafs al-ammāroh bi al-sū*ᵓ) exercises its authority, for it has an entry into the breast where it takes charge of things, becoming proud and pretending to possess power of itself.

The breast is also the seat of the light of Islam (*nūr al-islām*), as well as the place in which knowledge that is heard (*al-ᶜilm al-masmūᶜ*) is retained. [This type of knowledge must] be learned and includes (36) the laws and traditions and all / that which can be expressed with the tongue, the principal means of one's attaining to it being study and listening [to a teacher].

The breast was so named because it is the first part (*ṣadr*) of the heart and its first station, just as the *ṣadr* of the day is its beginning or as the court is the first place in the homestead. Into the breast from the self emerge whispering desires and distracting thoughts, and these emerge from it into the heart also if they become established over a long period.

The heart proper (*qalb*) is the second station. It is within the breast

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[5] *Qurᵓān,* XLIII, 32.
[6] *Qurᵓān,* XII, 76.

and corresponds to the black of the eye, whereas the breast corresponds to the white. It also corresponds to the city of Mecca inside the *ḥaram*, to the place of the wick in the lamp, as well as to the house within the homestead, and the almond within the outer covering.

The heart is the abode (*maᶜdin*) of the light of faith (*nūr al-īmān*) and the lights of submissiveness (*khushūᶜ*), piety (*taqwā*), love (*maḥabbah*), consent (*riḍāᵓ*), certainty (*yaqīn*), fear (*khawf*), hope (*rajāᵓ*), patience (*ṣabr*), and contentment (*qanāᶜah*). It is the abode of the principles of knowledge (*uṣūl al-ᶜilm*), for it is like a spring of water, the breast being its pool, so that just as the water flows out of the spring into the pool, so also knowledge emerges from the heart into the breast. Knowledge, however, also enters the breast by means of its being heard. From the heart emerge certainty (*yaqīn*), knowledge (*ᶜilm*), and intention (*nīyah*), which then enter into the breast, for the heart is the root and the breast is the branch. Moreover, the branch is only made firm by the root.

(37) The Apostle of God said: / "Works are only according to intentions," and explained that the value of an action performed by the self is dependent only upon the intention of the heart. Thus the good deed increases in value in accordance with the intention. Action is a faculty of the self; and the limit of the authority of the self over the breast depends upon the intention of the heart and its authority. The heart, due to God's mercy, however, is not under the authority of the self, for the heart is like a king and the self is its kingdom. The Apostle of God said: "The hand is a wing, the two feet are a post-horse, the two eyes are a means of good, the two ears are a funnel, the liver is mercy, the spleen is laughter, the two kidneys are deceit and the lung is breath. Thus if the king is sound, his troops are also sound, and if the king is corrupt, so also are his troops corrupt." The Apostle of God thus explained that the heart is a king, and that the breast is to the heart as the square (*maydān*) to the horseman.

He also pointed out that the soundness of the members of the body depends on the soundness of the heart and that their corruption depends on the corruption of the heart. The heart is like a wick, and the soundness of the wick is judged according to its light, which, in the case of the heart, is the light of piety and firm belief, for if the heart lacked this light it would be as a lamp the light of whose wick has gone out. All the deeds which originate in the self, exclusive of the heart, are not taken into account in the last judgement, nor is the doer of such deeds taken to task should they be acts of disobedience, or rewarded should they be acts of obedience. God said: *But He will take you to task for that which your hearts have garnered.* [7]

(38) / The inner heart (*fuᵓād*), within the heart proper, is the third station, and it corresponds to the pupil in the black part of the eye, to

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[7] *Qurᵓān*, II, 225.

the mosque in Mecca, to the closet or storeroom in the house, to the wick in its position in the middle of the lamp, and to the kernel within the almond. This inner heart is the seat of gnosis (*maᶜrifah*), spiritual thoughts (*khawāṭir*), and vision (*ruᵓyah*). Whenever a man profits, his inner heart profits first, then the heart. The inner heart is in the middle of the heart proper, which, in turn, is in the middle of the breast, just as the pearl is within the oyster shell.

The intellect (*lubb*), which is within the inner heart, corresponds to the light of seeing in the eye, to the light of the wick in the lamp, and to the hidden fat in the kernel of the almond. Each one of these exterior parts [of the heart] is a shield or curtain for that which follows it on the inside. Each is similar to the others, for they act in concert and are close in meaning, agreeing with one another and not differing. They are the lights of religion, for religion is one, even though the ranks of its people are different and varied.

The intellect is the seat of the light of unification (*nūr al-tawḥīd*) and the light of uniqueness (*nūr al-tafrīd*). It is the most perfect light and the greatest power.

Beyond this there are other subtle stations, noble places, and elegant subtleties. The basis of them all, however, is the light of unification, for unification is a mystery (*sirr*) and gnosis is a bounty (*birr*). Faith
39) is the preservation of / the mystery and the contemplation of the bounty. Islam in giving thanks for the bounty and surrendering the heart to the mystery, for unification is a mystery which God makes manifest to His servant (*ᶜabd*) and to which He directs him, since he could not comprehend it with his reason (*ᶜaql*) were it not for God's supporting and guiding him.

Gnosis is a bounty which God gives to His servant when He opens for him the door of favor and grace, beginning without the servant's being worthy of that and then granting him guidance until he believes that this is all from God, given to him as a favor from Him Whom he is unable to thank except through His assistance. And this, again, is yet another favor from God.

Thus he contemplates the bounty of God and preserves His mystery, for He is the bestower of success, and the mode of being of His lordship is not comprehended. [The servant of God] knows that He is one and avoids making Him similar to anything else (*tashbīh*), denying His attributes (*taᶜṭīl*), giving Him form (*takyīf*), or making Him unjust (*tajnīf*). This, then, is faith, which contemplates God's bounty and preserves His mystery.

Islam, however, is the use of the self (*nafs*) for the sake of God through obedience to Him with thanksgiving and righteousness. It is the surrender of lordship to Him and abstaining from the comprehension of the mystery; the acceptance of servitude, and persistence in that which brings one closer to Him.

Islam is practised only through the self, and the self is blind to the

comprehension of the truth (*ḥaqq*) and the contemplation of it. Moreover, it is not required of [the self] that it comprehend truths. Do you not see that the servant of God was commanded to have faith through the heart but was not required to comprehend that in which he believes from the standpoint of its real nature (*kayfīyah*)? His is only to follow and to avoid innovation. Surrender is all that is required of the self.

(40) / The ineffable stations, which lie beyond those already mentioned, are perceived only by the servant of God who has succeeded, with God's help, in understanding those stations [which we have] described with these well-known analogies, for God helps His servant and assists him in understanding them. These stations, which are beyond those already mentioned, are like the increased purity of water should it remain for a period in the jar. By such analogies is the way of the ineffable mystery comprehended.

[Part Two: the Breast]

The believer is tested by means of the self and its passions, for the self has been granted authority to enter into the breast. The abode of the self is in the hollow of the stomach and the belly. It becomes excited by the blood and the power of impurity (*najāsah*), and the stomach thus becomes filled with the darkness of its smoke and the heat of its fire. The self thereupon enters into the breast with its evil whisperings and base desires by way of a testing by God of His servant, so that he seeks help of his Lord with true poverty and lasting humility, and God answers him and delivers him from the evil of the self.

In the same way the devil also enters with his whispering into the breast of the servant of God, for the breast is the furthest limit of the authority of the self, and the self which exhorts to evil is like the devil, and thus there are, as it were, two devils. God said: *Devils of humankind and jinn who inspire in one another plausible discourse through guile.* [8]

God had mercy on his believing servant when He did not place his heart under the authority of his self. God through His mercy takes

(41) charge of His servant and tests him / [by allowing] the devil and his evil whispering to enter into his breast. In this way He teaches him a little of his baseness and shows him his complete need for God. The proof of this is God's having said: *In order that He might test what is in your breasts.* [9] This means that God is most aware of the whisperings of the devil and the self. [10] [Continuing God said:] *And purify what is in your hearts,* [11] which [means] the cleansing of the heart by

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[8] *Qurʾān,* VI, 112 (113).
[9] *Qurʾān,* III, 154.
[10] *Cf., God is aware of what is hidden in the breasts* (*Qurʾān,* III, 154).
[11] *Qurʾān,* III, 154.

the light of faith. God also said: *Who whispereth in the breasts of mankind.* [12]

Know that expansion and contraction are characteristics of the breast alone and are not to be attributed to the heart. God said: *So let there be no heaviness in thy breast therefrom,* [13] and: *A likely thing that thou wouldst forsake aught of that which hath been revealed unto thee, and that thy breast should be contracted for it,* [14] and: *Well know We that thy breast is at times contracted by what they say.* [15] God related of Moses that he said: *My Lord! Lo! I fear that they will deny me and that my breast will contract.* [16] Thus God attributed contraction to the breast.

Nevertheless, the contraction of the breast of the Prophet and the breast of Moses was not due to the whisperings which occur to the generality of Muslims, because God has protected the prophets from the whisperings of the devil and the contentions of the self. On the
2) contrary, | their breasts used to contract if they heard the unbelievers give a partner to God or heard them deny them if they mentioned God's oneness.

Moreover, there is no limit to the contraction of the breast, should it contract, for everyone's breast contracts in proportion to his ignorance and anger. Likewise, there is no limit to the expansion of the breast, should it expand under the guidance of God. Thus if it contracts to the truth, it expands to evil, and if it contracts to evil, it expands to the truth. Do you not see that God said to his Prophet: *Have We not caused thy breast to expand?* [17] God allowed his breast to expand with the lights of the truth of Islam until it contracted to the spread of evil.

The breast of the believer contracts sometimes from the abundance of evil whispering, or from sorrow, distraction, the succession of wants, and the coming of events and calamities. The breast also contracts if the believer hears something evil which his heart cannot endure, for God has expanded his breast to the light of Islam *so that he followeth a light from his Lord.* [18]

As for the breast of the unbeliever and the hypocrite, it is filled with the darkness of unbelief, polytheism, and doubt, and has expanded to them, so that no place remains in it for the light of Islam. It has become too contracted to accommodate within it the light of the truth (*nūr al-ḥaqq*). God said: *But those whose breasts expand to unbelief, on them is wrath from God.* [19] He also said: *And whomsoever it is God's will to guide, He expandeth his breast to Islam and whomsoever it is*

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[12] *Qurʾān,* CXIV, 5.
[13] *Qurʾān,* VII, 2.
[14] *Qurʾān,* XI, 12.
[15] *Qurʾān,* XV, 97.
[16] *Qurʾān,* XXVI, 12-13.
[17] *Qurʾān,* XCIV, 1.
[18] *Qurʾān,* XXXIX, 22.
[19] *Qurʾān,* XVI, 106.

(43) *His will to sent astray | He contracteth his breast.*[20] Thus God showed that the breast, if it become filled with the darkness of unbelief, becomes too contracted to accommodate its opposites from among the lights.

The breast of the believer is also the abode of the light of Islam. Like the comprehensive words "eye," "*ḥaram*," "homestead," "lamp," and "almond," "Islam" is a comprehensive word for the religion of God, although He associates it also with His servant, for the Prophet said: "Islam is the declaration [of one's acceptance of it] with the tongue, the performance of its fundamental obligations, the acceptance of it as true through faith, and the contemplation of some of the creations of the Merciful."

Islam is thus a general word including faith, the declaration of it with the tongue, and works. Moreover, Islam has both an outer (*ẓāhir*) and an inner (*bāṭin*) aspect. As for the outer aspect, it is sometimes assumed by the hypocrite, who appears outwardly as one of the people of Islam although inwardly he is an infidel. God said: *The wandering Arabs say: We believe. Say: Ye believe not, but rather say: We have become muslims.*[21] Thus God showed that they did not yet believe, but that they had only become Muslims with their mouths, for their hearts did not believe.

As for the inner aspect of Islam, it is obedience to the Lord of mankind and the surrender (*taslīm*) of the self and the heart to those decrees [of God] to which one is subjected. God said: *Nay, but whosoever surrendereth (aslama) his purpose to God while doing good (muḥsin), his reward is with his Lord.*[22] The true muslim, then, is he
(44) in whom the light of Islam resembles | the light of faith and the light of beneficence (*iḥsān*), so that all three act in concert, are interconnected, and similar to each other.

God said in the story of the prophets: *Lo! We did reveal the Torah, wherein is guidance and a light by which the prophets who surrendered (aslamū) unto God judged*;[23] and in the story of Abraham: *Then when they had both surrendered (aslamā) to God and he had flung him down upon his face.*[24] These are the elect of God, of whom He has demanded righteousness in accordance with the truth of Islam. They have freed themselves of their own strength and power and have surrendered unto God both outwardly and inwardly.

The proof that Islam and faith are similar in meaning even though they have different names is God's saying: *And Moses said: O my people! If ye have faith in God then put trust in Him, if ye are indeed muslims.*[25]

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[20] *Qurʾān*, VI, 125 (126).
[21] *Qurʾān*, XLIX, 14.
[22] *Qurʾān*, II, 112.
[23] *Qurʾān*, V, 44.
[24] *Qurʾān*, XXXVII, 103.
[25] *Qurʾān*, X, 84.

and: *And when it is recited unto them, they say: We have faith in it (āmannā). Lo! it is the truth from our Lord. Lo! even before it we were muslims,* [26] and: *Then we brought forth such faithful as were there. But we found there but one house of Muslims.* [27]

Faith, both as understood by the common people and according to the *sharīᶜah,* is belief in the truth, acceptance of it with the heart, and declaration of it with the tongue. Islam, on the other hand, is submission of the heart and the self to the truth, acceptance of it, straightforwardness in it, and avoidance of what is contrary to it.

45) / The breast is also the place of rancor and sin, for the self, which is characterized by rancor and sin, has a right of entry into the breast for the purpose of testing [the servant], as has been stated before. God said in describing the people of paradise: *And We remove whatever rancor may be in their breasts,* [28] so that they may enter paradise without rancor. The heart of the believer, however, is preserved from rancor because it is the place of faith. Nevertheless, God ordered His servants to pray to Him and ask Him that He not put rancor into their hearts saying: *And place not in our hearts rancor toward those who believe.* [29] He desired that they invoke Him and fear Him, so that He might purify their hearts. He did not, however, guarantee to keep their breasts free from evil whisperings, that they might realize His bounty towards them. He does, however, care for their hearts, so that they may ask of Him deliverance from the evil whisperings in their breasts. Thus they increase in honor and nobility through God, should He purify and refine their hearts, and increase in humility in their selves.

God said: *And He will cure the breasts of folk who are believers. And He will remove the anger of their hearts.* [30] Thus God showed that the cure is for the breasts, which are the place of rancor. He also said: *There hath come unto you an exhortation from your Lord, a cure for that which is in the breasts.* [31]

46) / The heart of the believer is sound and his breast is sound, but the heart of the infidel and the hypocrite is dead and unhealthy, and in his breast is a great darkness. God said: *In their hearts is a disease* [32], and: *Lo! to ascribe partners to Him is a great darkness,* [33] and: *There is naught else in their breasts save pride.* [34]

Know that the breast is the place of all knowledge which cannot be attained except through study, memorization, effort, and perseverance,

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[26] *Qurᵓān,* XXVIII, 53.
[27] *Qurᵓān,* LI, 35-36.
[28] *Qurᵓān,* VII, 43; XV, 47.
[29] *Qurᵓān,* LIX, 10.
[30] *Qurᵓān,* IX, 14-15.
[31] *Qurᵓān,* X, 57.
[32] *Qurᵓān,* V, 52; II, 10.
[33] *Qurᵓān,* XXXI, 13.
[34] *Qurᵓān,* XL, 56.

to it, enters into the shell / and then leaves it, for within the shell by means of listening and teaching, whether it be of the *Qurʾān* or the *ḥadīth* or something else, and that such knowledge may be forgotten. God said: *But it is clear revelations in the breasts of those who have been given knowledge.* [35] This is that knowledge which can be expressed, read, related or set forth. The possessor of such knowledge, however, may forget it, since it is the self that carries it and preserves it, and the self is by nature forgetful. Thus one sometimes forgets what one has memorized and striven hard to attain. The breast in this respect is like the back (*ẓahr*) of the heart. One says: so and so recites from the back of his heart [i.e. by memory]. Nevertheless, in spite of this effort, he is sometimes wrong, makes mistakes, and has doubts about what he has memorized.

The breast also is to the heart what the shell is to the pearl. Sometimes something other than the pearl, such as water or something similar
(47) to it, enters into the shell [47] and then leaves it, for within the shell there is no place other than that of the pearl into which anything can enter unless the pearl is first removed. Its place then becomes vacant and it can hold something else in its stead. [36]

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[35] *Qurʾān,* XXIX, 49.
[36] The text of this paragraph in the MS. is not at all clear. The translation represents what al-Tirmidhī may have wished to say, but the analogy is still rather vague.

MODERN ARAB HISTORIANS AND WORLD HISTORY [1]

The study of modern Arab historiography has hardly begun. Orientalists in Europe and America, as well as Arab historians, until very recently were interested only in medieval Islam and in the classical history of the Arabs. This is why works on Muslim and Arab historiography like those of Wüstenfeld, Margoliouth, and Rosenthal have concerned themselves only with classical Arab historians until the end of the Mamlūk period in the early sixteenth century.

Increasing interest in the modern history of the Arabs, however, is beginning to emphasize the necessity of studying the modern historians and historical literature of the Arab world in the period of Ottoman rule and in the post-war period after 1920. There is not yet one comprehensive work on the subject, but one Arab author at least, Professor Jamāl al-Dīn Shayyal, has written a short book on "History and Historians in Egypt in the Nineteenth Century" (Cairo, 1958). [2] The department of Arab Studies at the American University of Beirut devoted its ninth annual conference (18-22 May, 1959) to the study of Arab historiography in the last one hundred years, but the papers presented were almost exclusively centered on modern historical literature relating to various periods of classical Arab history. Not one paper was read on the work of Arab historians on modern Arab history.

General or special works on the history of Arabic literature, like those of C. Brockelmann, Jurji Zaydan and Louis Cheikho, have dealt to some extent with modern Arabic historical literature. It is also good to notice that contemporary writers on modern Arab and Islamic history, such as Gibb and Bowen, S. H. Longrigg, Muhammad Kurd Ali, Asad Rustum, M. Shafiq Ghurbal, and Abbas el-Azzawi, have utilized the historical literature left by the chroniclers, annalists, biographers and other writers since the sixteenth century. But the fact remains that although the Arabic historical literature of the last four centuries and a half is fairly vast and valuable, yet a good deal of it is either unexplored or poorly known. It has not received serious study because, as we said at the beginning, the whole period with which it deals has only just begun to command the interest of historians, and perhaps because it does not include works of the caliber and importance of those written by classical historians such as Ṭabari, Masᶜūdi and Ibn-Khaldūn.

One of the characteristics of modern Arab historians is that their interest has gone beyond the history of their country so as to cover in varying degrees various areas and periods of world history. The claim that Arab historians have rarely concerned themselves with the writing

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[1] Read before the 13th University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference at Lexington, April 28-30, 1960.

[2] Published by Maktabat al-Nahḍah. In Arabic; translation of title by writer.

of other than the history of the Arabs and of Islam is particularly true of medieval historians and of writers in the early modern period until the beginning of the nineteenth century which, for the Near East, is really a continuation of medieval times. Certain classical Arab historians like Yaʿqūbi, Abuʾl-Fidāʾ and Ibn-Khaldūn did write long introductory chapters on the history of the world beginning with Creation, but as soon as they reached the Islamic period, they gave all their attention to the history of Islam and the Arabs. When they touched on neighboring countries such as the Byzantine Empire, India, or Ethiopia, they did so only in so far as they were related to events occurring in the Arab world and in the lands of the Caliphate which included a major part of the world and particularly of the civilized world. The situation remained the same under the Ottoman Empire in early modern times when Arab chroniclers and biographers, living in isolation from the rest of the world and even from each other, wrote only about the events and personalities of their immediate environment and thus produced a number of regional and city histories as well as local or regional biographical dictionaries.

With the beginning of the nineteenth century the situation changes completely. Arab historians — previously unaware of world events at a time when Europe was having its Renaissance and Reformation, its scientific, industrial and political revolutions — begin to be interested in the rest of the world and particularly in Europe. Several factors were responsible for opening their eyes to conditions in Europe and stimulating their interest in European history and civilization. Among these factors we can mention Napoleon's expedition to Egypt and Syria followed by the modernizing rule of Muhammad Ali, contacts with European and American missionaries especially in the Levant countries and particularly in Lebanon, the return of students sent to study in Europe, the beginning of the cultural revival in the Arab countries, and the expansion of Western business and political interests in Arab lands.

The Arab cultural revival in the nineteenth century included, among other developments, the expansion of printing, the establishment of newspapers and the founding of schools. The Bulaq Press in Cairo, the American and the Catholic presses in Beirut were established in 1822, 1834 and 1848 respectively. Several other printing presses followed after 1850. Newspapers and magazines sometimes had their own presses. They flourished also in the second half of the nineteenth century and it was in them that historical works were occasionally published as serials before they were put into one volume. Many of those who wrote or translated works on world or European history were journalists, littérateurs and poets. The magazine writer Jurji Yanni, for example, published a history of the Franco-German war in the Jinan magazine in Cairo, and in 1911 it appeared in a separate volume. The well known poet Khalil Mutran wrote a history of the world in two volumes which he called "The Mirror of Days on an Outline of General

History" (Cairo, 1905). Important world events were narrated in the form of epics by contemporary observers; Faris al-Khuri, who was soon to become a leading figure in Syrian and Arab politics, composed a series of poems on the Russo-Japanese war (printed in Cairo, 1906), and Asaad Khalil Dagher wrote a long poem on the First World War (Cairo, 1919).

Military officers and government officials had their share in writing on world history. In the year 1894 the Bulaq Press published two works on the subject. The one was written by Ismail Pasha Sarhank in three volumes and contained a history of the world with special emphasis on naval history. The other was written by Mahmud Fihmi Pasha, a military engineer living in exile in Ceylon after the Arabi revolt; it was a general history in four volumes. Other authors wanted to write histories of the world, but what they published actually never went beyond ancient times. Jurji Zaydan, for example, founder of *Al-Hilal,* the oldest existing Arabic magazine, and otherwise known for his works on Arab history and civilization, published only one volume of his general history (Beirut, 1890) and covered the ancient history of the world. A few years later he published in Cairo (1899) the history of England to the dynasty of York. Arab authors in Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Tunisia wrote works on various European and Afro-Asian countries, particularly France, Russia, Ethiopia, Transvaal, Japan, China, and Iran. Their interest in France and Russia was a result of close contacts between these two countries and the Arabs of the Ottoman Empire. As for the other countries, it was mainly the interest in their contemporary events that prompted them to write. The Boer War, for example, led to the writing of at least three works on the history of Transvaal in the early years of the present century. The Tunisian author, Kheireddine al-Tunsi, had a practical motive when he wrote his history and description of the administrative and military conditions of each of the European kingdoms (Tunis, 1284/1867) for he puts under the title of his work the following statement as a subtitle " . . . That the Muslims might adopt what is most suitable for them."

The preparation of books on European and world history to serve the needs of schools became one of the main factors in historical writing. In 1835 a "School of Languages" was established in Cairo and six years later a department of translation was attached to it under the direction of one of the most prominent among the young men sent by Muhammad Ali to study in Europe; his name was Rafaᶜat al-Tahtawi. Rafaᶜat undertook, with the help of his students, to translate — mostly from French — books on European history at a time when historical studies were becoming a part of the curriculum in some Egyptian schools. He tried also to satisfy the curiosity of his master, Muhammad Ali, who was interested in hearing stories and experiences of great world figures. Rafaᶜat himself had already translated a work on the character and manners of the European peoples (Bulaq, 1249/1834). One of his stu-

dents, Abdallah Abu'l-Saud, translated a book on the history of France until the time of Louis Philippe and added to it a history of Egypt in the corresponding period (Bulaq, 1257/1842). Other students of Rafa'at translated works on Charlemagne, Peter the Great, Charles XII, and on medieval history. The school of languages was closed in 1849 after Muhammad Ali's death, but Khedive Ismail re-established the department of translation in 1863 and Rafa'at continued his activities until his death in 1873. The best one-volume history of the world in the pre-war period was written in Beirut by Yuhanna Abqarius. Its first edition appeared in 1883 at The American Press and by 1912 it had run through five editions.

The need for textbooks in high schools and universities became more and more urgent after 1920 as a result of the tremendous expansion in the teaching of history, the establishment of a number of state universities where teaching was in Arabic, and a more thorough study of European history in the Arab countries under European rule of influence. Books were either translated or adapted from European and American authors or were written by high school teachers and university professors. Translators and authors were generally specialists in their subjects and were connected with the institutions of learning. But when the books were not destined to the classroom and dealt with current events or famous world figures, they were written by journalists and general writers rather than by historians. Publishing houses, particularly in Egypt, and university presses in certain cases encouraged and promoted the work of translators and authors. Among the Western authors whose works on European history and biography were translated into Arabic we can mention Herbert Fisher, Duff Cooper, Ferdinand Schevill, Pierre Renouvin, Charles Diehl, André Maurois and Emil Ludwig. Almost all the Arabic works on general world history and the history of civilization in the post-war period were translations from such well known authors and historians as H. G. Wells, H. Van Loon, Will Durant, Arnold Toynbee and George Sarton. The translators were mostly university professors or college graduates and worked most of the time at the request of public or private cultural institutions such as the Cultural Section of the Arab League (W. Durant's *Story of Civilization*), the Cultural Section of the Ministry of Education in Egypt (John Hammerton's *Encyclopedia of World History*), the Committee of Authorship, Translation and Publication in Egypt (H. G. Wells' *Outline of History*) and Franklin Publications (Sarton's *History of Science,* and W. Langer's *Encyclopedia of World History*).

Along with the cultural awakening and the expansion of institutions of learning, the emergence of Arab nationalism in the nineteenth century and Arab interest in other national and liberation movements led to increased interest in world history and in the biography of European and other national figures. With the expansion of nationalist movements in the twentieth century and the appearance of new heroic national

figures, it became necessary to go back to the past and to know more about the national heritage of the various peoples struggling for freedom and independence. This accounts for an additional number of books dealing with European and Asian history and biography. Among the favorite subjects for general writers and historians were the French Revolution and the life of Napoleon, Italian Unity, the Irish revolt and the lives of Mazzini, Lincoln, Gandhi, Nehru and Sun Yat-sen. The list of authors and translators of works on these subjects includes Ameen Rihani, Mustapha Ziada, Abbas Mahmud al-Aqqad, Taha al-Hashimi, Hassan Jalal, Mahmud al-Khafeef and Muhammad Sabri. The Italian aggression against Ethiopia brought forth a number of books in the mid-thirties on Ethiopian history and politics.

Closer relations between the Arab world and other states in the twentieth century along with the increased interaction of world events and cultures and the greater participation of the Arab states in world assemblies and conferences were other factors leading to the study of the history and culture of other nations.

It is difficult to give an exact estimate of the number of works written or translated by modern Arab historians and writers on world history in general or on the history of various non-Arab countries. But their number is not such that it cannot be approximately known. Bibliographical facilities for such an estimate are inadequate. The best available aids for the present writer were: the biblographical dictionary compiled by Yusuf Sarkis on Arabic publications since the beginning of printing until 1919 (published in Cairo, 1928) and its supplement which carries it down to 1927; the bio-bibliographical work of Yusuf Dagher on deceased Arab writers between 1800 and 1955 (his work on contemporary Arab writers is still to appear); the histories of Arabic literature such as those of Brockelmann, Zaydan and Cheikho; the indexes of magazine book reviews prepared by a few magazines such as the index of al-Machriq (published in Beirut in 1952 for the magazine articles and book reviews that appeared in it between 1898 and 1950), and that of the Review of the Arab Academy in Damascus; a volume issued by Cairo University containing the titles of master's and doctoral dissertations submitted to it, and another volume (published in 1958) containing lists of works written or translated by its own professors; the catalogues of publications issued by various bookstores in the Arab world; and finally the book index of public and university libraries in Beirut, Damascus and Cairo.

This, of course, does not guarantee that our estimate can be exhaustive. But with these limitations in mind, we have estimated that between the middle of the nineteenth century and 1958 no less than 252 works were written or translated on general world history or on the history of Western and Afro-Asian countries excluding the Arab world. This estimate does not include works on ancient history and on Near Eastern church history.

Of the 252 titles mentioned above, 108 belong to the first period ending in 1919, and 144 to the second period since 1920. Works on general world history and the history of civilization are relatively few, twenty-nine in all; fifteen were written in the first period and fourteen, mostly translations, in the second. Works on European history or biography number 120, about half the total. One-third of them were written in the first period and two-thirds in the second.. In either period, one-third of the works on European history were translations from either English or French. On the history of Asian and African countries, excluding the Arab countries, some eighty books were produced, fifty before 1920 and thirty after. Twenty per cent of all these were translations. The history of the American countries was the subject of only twenty-three works, most of which (20) appeared after 1920; they were almost all translations from English or Spanish. Five of them dealt with Latin American countries and the rest were histories of the United States and some of its national leaders, particularly Washington, Franklin, Lincoln, Jefferson and F. D. Roosevelt. The works on Latin America were all written or translated by Syrian and Lebanese emigrants in Brazil, Argentina and Chile.

Our general remarks on the work of modern Arab historians and writers on world history are: first, the number of their written or translated works is not considerable, but it far exceeds the work of medieval historians. One should also take into consideration that after the cultural renaissance in the nineteenth century, modern Arab historians were interested—but not completely absorbed—in two other major fields, namely, their own ancient history and their history in the medieval Islamic and modern periods.

Second, Arab authors have not produced original works on the history of Europe and the rest of the world based on historical research and study of documents. They have relied on secondary sources and standard works in foreign languages which they sometimes translated. The works of such university professors as Mustapha Ziada, Ahmad Naguib Hashim and Muhammad Fuad Shukri were intended either for college students or for the educated general reader. The specialists, familiar with foreign languages, could directly consult scholarly and detailed works by foreign scholars. On the other hand, most of the Arab historians of medieval or modern times concentrated their scholarly work on subjects connected with their local or national history which required study. It should be remembered also that modern historical scholarship is quite recent in the Arab world, and that specialists in non-Arab history are rare.

Third, it is to be noticed that works on the Islamic non-Arab countries and on India and the Far East are fewer than those on Europe. In the first period until 1919 it was natural for a number of authors, mostly politicians and government officials—such as Sulayman Bustani, Ruhi Khalidi, Muhammad Farid and Hakki al-Azem—to write on Otto-

man history and the Eastern question at a time when several Arab countries were a part of the Ottoman Empire. In the second period their interest in Turkey weakened in spite of its proximity to their borders and its nationalist movement in the early twenties. Only nine works (compared with thirty in the first period) were written or translated on Turkey. As for Persia, Afghanistan, Muslim India and Pakistan, only about a dozen books were produced; some of them were the work of such university professors as Yahya al-Khashshab, Mustapha Taha Badre and Ahmad Mahmud Sadati. There were even two doctoral dissertations, one written on Babur of India and the other on Ghazan of Persia. We have not come across one single book on Indonesia.

Interest in Far Eastern and American history evidently has not been strong enough to warrant the writing of adequate works on the subject. One of the main reasons is that the countries in question had neither extensive political nor commercial relations with the Arab world until recently. They were too distant, and their history has never formed a part of the curriculum in secondary schools nor has it been offered for study in universities. Even in American universities in the Middle East hardly any course has been given on American history. At one time the history of civilization in India and the Far East was introduced into the Syrian University and a book had to be written on the subject for the benefit of students, but this was only a part of a course on the general history of civilization.

With European history the situation was different and, since the nineteenth century, various factors have contributed to its study, as we have explained. The fact remains that the Arabs and the Arab countries are oriented in their trade relations and in their political and cultural contacts more towards Europe and the West than toward the Muslim or non-Muslim countries of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Asia. This has naturally affected the subject matter of their historical works.

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RELATION OF MUSLIM THEOLOGY TO THE QUR'ĀN

The following lines represent what this writer would have added as a chapter to his work entitled *God of Justice,* [1] had the circumstances permitted. The courtesy of *The Muslim World* is gratefully acknowledged as an opportunity to submit to the readers of that book comments relevant to it.

The first book which this writer read in the early days of his effort to become acquainted with the spirit of Islam was the volume of Iqbāl's lectures entitled *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.* Like Ibn Taimiyya, Iqbāl had become conscious of the genius of the Qur'ān as distinct from that of the Hellenized version of Islam. This is reflected throughout Iqbāl's philosophical writings, prose and poetry. The first serious controversy among Indian Muslims around Iqbāl's thought was that between himself and his senior contemporary Akbar of Allahabad. In his book-sized Persian poem *Asrār-i-Khudī* (translated by Professor R. A. Nicholson under the title *Secrets of the Self*) Iqbāl asserted his idea of "egohood" as the heart of being. Few thinkers, Muslim or Christian, realize how fruitful a comparison can be tried between the respective implications of a revival of personalism in the theologies of the Neo-orthodox wing in Christianity and Iqbāl in Islam. Iqbāl is a landmark in Islam as a reaction against centuries of dominance of pantheistic trends in Islam. He stressed the "closed-off' nature of the Ultimate Ego called God. He regarded pantheistic trends as a narcotic in the life of Islam which was inevitable but which he thought was now causing oversleep by its overdose. In his original version of the *Asrār-i-Khudī* he had criticized Ḥāfiẓ in particular for benumbing Muslims. The Divān of Ḥāfiẓ, for Muslims in India, had been, and still is, a kind of second Qur'an. Iqbāl's criticism of Sufism, and of Ḥāfiẓ in particular, aroused much indignation. Iqbāl's correspondence with Akbar of Allahabad, a great poet, reflects a disturbance in the harmonious relations between the two poets. Iqbāl later eliminated the controverted section from the poem, though even without that section the poem remains a challenge to Sufism.

In the first lecture of his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* Iqbāl remarks that the spirit of the Qur'ān is "anti-classical." This is a remark which the present writer read eleven years ago. And this terse remark aroused in his mind a strong curiosity as to its full significance.

On more mature reflection the present writer felt that Iqbāl should have used the word "non-classical" instead of anti-classical. For the latter term suggests that Muḥammad's mind was deliberate in an antipathy toward Greek thought. It presupposes an intimate knowledge

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[1] E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1960.

of Greek thought on Muḥammad's part. And this is remote from the evidence of recorded history.

However, Iqbāl's statement is very acute indeed as reflecting his perception of some difference between Hellenized Islamic theology (and the only theology in Islam is the Hellenized one) and the simple Semitic atmosphere of the world-view of the Qur'ān.

Having come across the above-cited comment of Iqbāl in his lectures, this writer continued the perusal of that volume of lectures. The very next lecture is principally an exposition of what Iqbāl believes to be the Qur'anic idea of God. Somehow that exposition gave unrest to the present writer. Only a little earlier, in the first lecture, Iqbāl had observed the "anti-classical" spirit of the Qur'ān. And yet his own exposition of the Qur'anic idea of God in the second lecture is an exposition *Hellenized to the core.* Despite his favourite and repeated recourse to the idea of God as an Ego, in this chapter Iqbāl's selection of the attributes of God for comments is thoroughly transcendental and Hellenized. He is interested most in Eternity, Infinity, Omniscience and Omnipotence. He completely overlooks the subject of Divine disposition toward creatures.

God's supreme egohood, in Iqbāl's terms, lies in His being characterized by a uniqueness that rejects all qualification. This is precisely the kind of Divine Uniqueness sought by centuries of Muslim theology with the difference that Iqbāl gives to it the name of the Ultimate Ego. The essence of egohood in Iqbāl's thought is assertion. It follows from Iqbāl's second lecture that God, the Ultimate Ego, has absolute power, but that it is not known what use God is going to make of His absolute power.

The chronic fear of "anthropomorphism" is what stifled Iqbāl's desire to think of God as a person, a desire that is a universal craving in man to find God sharing human experience. His concept of Ego therefore stops short of a great deal. His personalism bears no great resemblance to the Neo-orthodox concept of Biblical personalism the primary concern of which is a re-affirmation of God's love. If a comparison is tried between the respective revivals of personalism in Islam and Christianity, it will serve chiefly to bring out the *contrasts* between their respective implications within the two faiths. A demonstration of these contrasts will be most fruitful.

About the same time that this writer was reading Iqbāl's *Reconstruction,* he chanced upon Professor Macdonald's article on Allāh in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam.* The first part of that article deals with the Qur'anic concept of Allah. It begins with a list of Ninety-nine Names of God. Immediately occurs the following paragraph as interpreting the significance of the Ninety-nine Names:

> These epithets state for us a Being who is Self-sufficing, all-powerfull, all-knowing, all-encompassing, eternal; who is the only Reality ...

> Allah is thus the absolute Creator, Sustainer, Ruler, Destroyer, Restorer, Recorder; there is no power nor strength save in Him. Expressions can be used of Him in His absoluteness, which would mean evil, if used of men, who have no such primal right.

Now anyone conversant with the traditional lists of the Ninety-nine Names will at once see that the above paragraph is not an adequate interpretation of the significance of Ninety-nine Names. Rather this paragraph is an arbitrary selection of the *non-dispositional* attributes from the list of Ninety-nine Names. In the same article Professor Macdonald himself says about the Ninety-nine Names: "These descriptions are at first sight a strange combination of anthropomorphisms and metaphysics." But we can see that in the paragraph cited earlier he has not included a single "anthropomorphism." The fact is that the brief list is not a summary of Ninety-nine Names prepared by Professor Macdonald himself. In his efforts to summarize the meaning of Ninety-nine Names, those which came into the foreground of his mind were the ones which he had met most frequently in Muslim theological works.

What struck this writer as most exciting was the fact that this "summary" in Professor Macdonald's article contained almost the same kind of set of attributes as did Iqbāl's second lecture. This coincidence strengthened the suspicion that this writer had begun to entertain about these non-anthropomorphic attributes as being faithful representatives of the Qurʾanic doctrine of God. It gave birth to the conjecture that Iqbāl and Macdonald had a common non-Qurʾanic source wherefrom these brief lists of "metaphysical" attributes were derived. More study of Muslim theological works outside *tafsīr* literature disclosed that though these works do not as a rule contain a formula of the half-dozen "non-anthropomorphic" epithets in such abridged form, they are the ones most favoured by Muslim theologians.

Now instead of giving the name "metaphysical" to this brief set of attributes, and the name "anthropomorphic" to the remaining attributes among the Ninety-nine Names, let us suggest two safer terms for the two categories: "dispositional" and "non-dispositional." Names like the Avenging, the Merciful, the Just King, the Forgiving, the Swifter in trick, are *dispositional* attributes alluding to the moods in which God may be said to be *disposed toward men*. On the other hand the names the Eternal, the Reality, the Omnipotent, the Omniscient, the Willer, the Self-sufficient, are the ones which do not describe a disposition.

Anthropomorphism is not an appropriate term in theology. It signifies *artificial* attribution of human characteristics to God. But can man be sure that God does not share any attributes at all with man? Anthropomorphism is a term which proceeds upon the assumption that there is no sharing whatsoever in reality, and that attribution of human characteristics to God is a procedure contrary to reality. Therefore the term "dispositional" seems a term safer than "anthropomorphic" in our present theological discourse.

This is a matter of concern both for Christian and Muslim theologies. Christian theology must believe in a disposition of God the Father without a body. Qur'anic faith must also accept some disposition of a God. But Muslim theology dismisses the issues of Divine disposition by emphasizing non-corporeality.

The desire of some members of Quraysh and other Arabs to return to idol worship was the first serious threat against which Islam undertook to guard itself. To keep their theological development defensible against all criticism, the first Muslim interpreters of the Qur'ān decided that the Qur'anic allusions to God's settling Himself on the Heavenly Throne, His having a face (*wajh*) and hand (*yad*) must be accepted as metaphors. An uncompromising firmness on this point seemed to early Muslims to be the only way to avoid complication in debating against idolatrous reactions.

The next problem for theology was how to conceive God's vengeance, mercy, love, watchfulness, in a way completely immune to corporeal conception. Muslim theologians found this problem too complex. Instead of asserting that God can have dispositions without having a body (Is He Omnipotent if He cannot do this?), Muslim theologians chose to evade the issue. To obscure the dispositional descriptions of God found in the Qur'ān they chose to make their mention of non-dispositional attributes predominantly frequent.

Beside helping anti-idolatrous formulation of theology, this channel served two other purposes. The political situation after the death of Muḥammad had undergone a tremendous change. In the control of the Muslims' morality Muḥammad was exercising no political authority in his own lifetime. He always reminded people that God Himself will punish and reward. After his death the Caliphate became a potent authority. The offices of Qāḍī and Muḥtasib came into being to supervise the Muslims' morality. People began to be punished for drinking or not fasting (during Ramaḍān) and so on. This created a theological difficulty. If the Qāḍī and the Muḥtasib are punishing us in this world, why should God repeat the punishment in the hereafter? To alleviate this double penalty theology sought to throw the entire mass of the Qur'anic reminders of God's strict justice into obscurity. Furthermore, even the ruling Arabs found the dismissal of the Qur'ānic reminders of God's justice favourable to their motives. Muslims themselves admit that outside the Khilāfat-i-Rāshida and the reign of ᶜUmar Ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, Muslim society was not characterized by social justice. Support of a theology based on the Qur'anic idea of God's justice would have put on the Caliphs the burden of maintaining God's justice on earth as His Vice-regents.

All these factors combined to promote a highly transcendental theology. The concept of the Absolute (*Muṭlaq*) was introduced into Islamic thought as soon as the first translations of Greek works into Arabic were sponsored by the Caliph Ma'mūn at his Bayt al-Ḥikma. This

was before the end of the first century of the Muslim era. The word *muṭlaq* seems to have provided precisely that key term for which large sections of the Muslim community were looking. One is reminded of how the word *Logos* came in to provide the needed term in Christian theology to set forth clearly the Christian concept of the universality of the Son of God. The difference, however, is that whereas the term *Logos* aided thoughts that were at the heart of the Gospel of God in Christ, the term *muṭlaq* in Islam came in to obscure what was at the heart of the Qur'ān.

The narrative of Muslim theology is a narrative of the *Tanzīh* campaign, the drive to divest God of all attributes found in men.

A problem that intrigues the present writer is how the great Muslim commentators of the Qur'ān evade the subject of divine disposition in interlinear *tafsīrs*. It is conceivable how outside *tafsīr* literature theologians could write theological treatises making predominant their mention of non-dispositional attributes. But in interlinear commentaries which proceed word by word it is not easy for the commentators to evade discourses on the dispositional descriptions of God, which *greatly* outnumber the transcendental allusions in the Qur'ān.

The role of the lists of Ninety-nine Names in relaxing the strict justice of God is a very interesting one. They are these lists which, for the non-theological popular Islam, replace the strict justice of the God of the Qur'ān by the idea of His capriciousness. Let the non-Muslim scholars of Islam be reminded that, though from outside capriciousness of the Muslim God represents to them the arbitrary cruelty of God, to the Muslims capriciousness appears as something more lenient than a very strict retributive justice. Capriciousness is more hopeful for essentially sinful existence than stern justice of requitals.

While telling the Ninety-nine beads, the Muslim uses a jumble of God's dispositional and transcendental attributes in rapid succession, thus freeing himself from being bound by pledge to respond to a fixed disposition. If he tells one bead uttering the name "Revengeful" fearfully, immediately after this he seeks hope in a name such as the "Compassionate." He is never interested in the contextual significances of these names in the Qur'ān, nor in the respective stresses on the names in the Book, for contexts will subdue his spirit. To enjoy some hope he must use them out of context and in a jumble.

The cultivation of a rather exclusive consciousness of non-dispositional attributes of God also is a backdoor entrance into an experience of Divine capriciousness. Unknowability of the nature of a Being's will gets converted into unpredictability in actual inter-personal relationship.

The tendency to restrict the number of divine attributes to a minimum was pursued under the pretext that plurality of attributes means plurality of Gods. This is a strange inverted line of thought in Islam.

The question can be asked: Has the problem been solved by reducing the attributes to a half-dozen? More than one is not one in any case. Perhaps it will be valid to say that in Islamic theology "two" is a number more disliked than any number greater than "two." For "two" causes the initial trouble.

There would have been cogency about the restriction of attributes strictly to one. But this is not what happened in Muslim theology. Reducing the attributes to a half-dozen was thought to be sufficient to conquer plurality.

Let us add here that although the Muslim idea of transcendence was founded on Platonic elements of Greek thought, the utility of it for Muslim motives was aided much by the methods of Aristotelian logic. An interest in transcendence aiming at an experience of capriciousness can never seek a highly co-ordinated doctrine. Co-ordination as a method is interested in unity and uniformity. The Muslims did not want to experience uniformity in divine disposition. For thus God's strict justice becomes fixed and leaves no room for hope. They wanted relaxation. Aristotelian logic was relaxing. For it led to divergences but never demanded convergences.

Hartford Seminary Foundation,
Hartford, Connecticut

DAUD RAHBAR

IN MEMORY OF LEWIS BEVAN JONES

One of the high privileges of our forty-one years of service in India was our close and intimate association, for at least thirty-five years of that period, with Lewis Bevan Jones and his wife. He was one of India's outstanding missionaries to Muslims in that "long line of splendor" of those who have devoted themselves to that difficult phase of mission work. The association continued even after retirement, for we were in their home as guests two years ago, and likewise we enjoyed having them as our guests while living for a few years in Stratford-on-Avon.

News of his death came to us shortly after it occurred on March 31, 1960, in his home at Worthing, Sussex, England.

His parents were Baptist missionaries from England to India, and he was born in Agra on February 27, 1880. He remained with them in India until he reached the age of eight. After his preparatory school work in what is now Eltham College, but which was then a boarding school for sons of missionaries, he went to Cardiff Baptist College of the University of Wales where he took his B. A. degree with Honours. This was followed by his B. D. from Regents Park College, Oxford and later his M. A. from the University of Wales.

This very adequate intellectual preparation for his work as a missionary of the English Baptist Mission, to which he was appointed in 1907, was further supplemented by the study of Arabic in Cairo, Egypt, and at Oxford during furlough periods. His first appointment as a missionary was to Agra, the city of his birth, but, after a two-year period, an emergency in the work at Dacca, East Bengal, necessitated his transfer to that city where his work among college students continued for the next twenty years. His ability as a linguist was proved in his mastery of the Bengali language, just as it had been in his use of Urdu during his service at Agra where he passed the three-year proficiency course of study.

It was during the Dacca years in his work with students, particularly with Muslims, that the foundation was laid for his later outstanding work as an exponent of Islam to Christian workers while serving in the Henry Martyn School in Lahore, and at the same time as an exponent of Christianity to Muslims through his continued evangelistic preaching and through his writings.

When the Henry Martyn School was founded in 1930, and was opened in Lahore, it was natural that Bevan Jones should be chosen as its first Principal. There for twelve years with his fine team of colleagues he taught missionaries and Indian preachers who came from many regions seeking to equip themselves for work among Muslims.

John Subhan, now a Bishop of the Methodist Church in India, was one of his associates in the Henry Martyn School in Lahore. A tribute from Bishop Subhan refers to his courage, his treatment of those who

were technically under him as equals and co-workers, his selfless devotion, his cheerfulness, and his spirit of Christian meekness and humility. He further added these words: "His magnetic personality, as well as the fame of his evangelistic zeal, attracted missionaries, national pastors and preachers from every part of India. Most students were resident in the school, and this provided the Christian fellowship which added greatly to the intellectual and spiritual life of all who came to the school."

Bishop Subhan continues: "I find it beyond the ability of my words to express my sincere appreciation of all that Bevan did to inspire Christians to preach the Gospel to Muslims, and himself to lead Muslims to the knowledge of Christ our Lord and Saviour."

But Bevan's work was not confined to personal work among Muslims, for he was a scholar, and made a careful study of Islam and the problems it presents. He has left behind four important books:

The People of The Mosque: An interpretation of the religion of Islam. Three editions in English, which have been translated and published in Urdu, Hindi, Bengali and Marathi.

Christianity Explained to Muslims. Two editions in English; also available in Urdu, Hindi, and Bengali.

Woman in Islam, in collaboration with his wife.

The Best Friend, The Life of Our Lord, written especially for Muslims, and translated into eighteen vernaculars.

In addition to the above, Bevan also produced an important variety of booklets and tracts which were greatly appreciated in their day and are still valuable. All these will perpetuate his work.

Nor did retirement in England in 1944 mean respite from his labor to bring the Muslim world to Christ. A resolution or memorial tribute presented on Bevan Jones' life and work by his own General Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society on April 28, 1960, after sketching his life and service in India, concluded with these words: "He maintained that interest after his return to England in 1944, and was much sought after by missionary societies working in Muslim countries, lecturing for them and attending conferences and writing booklets which are now circulating through all the Commonwealth countries. He was for several years chairman of The Fellowship of Faith for Muslims."

Of the many tributes of praise and thanksgiving for the memory of his life and service I shall quote from two. One is from a former Imam of the Woking Mosque in London, who in India was the leader of a vigorous anti-Christian sect, and editor of a paper which continually attacked missionaries and their teaching. A long friendship between this Maulvi and Bevan Jones resulted in a very beautiful letter after Bevan's death sent to Mrs. Bevan Jones, and the following are some excerpts from that letter:

"The death of your beloved husband came as a most painful surprise to me, and, I am sure, to his numerous friends and admirers in this country, where he spent the most of his life, and to which he gave his best loving service ... Christian Missionary Societies have sent us some very fine specimens of Christianity, but the Reverend Bevan Jones was a jewel of a man among them. If there was one man who made me respect Christianity in its real sense of love and charity of heart, it was Bevan Jones. They could send no better ambassador of Christianity to the Muslim people. The new approach between the two "sister" religions, Christianity and Islam, now so much coming to the forefront, found its very early exponent in Bevan Jones, to which his book, *The People of the Mosque* is a standing monument.

"It was a glorious life Bevan Jones lived; and it was a glorious death he died—a death in the love and service of God and man!"

The second tribute comes from one who was a former student during the Henry Martyn School era in Lahore:

"Memories crowd in upon me—memories of a saint and scholar with a touch of Christ. He will always remind me of the Apostle John, for like him, everything he said and did was luminous with grace and loveliness. He himself was the most convincing argument for God's love any groping soul could wish to find."

Finally, I too, would like to add my word of appreciation for this dear friend, with whom I was associated across the years during our service in India. It was a delightful privilege to be associated with him in our work for Muslims. Each contact with Bevan Jones left its touch of blessing upon my own life. I shall never cease to thank God for him.

Daytona Beach,
Florida

MURRAY T. TITUS

JOHN ERNEST MERRILL

The Reverend John Ernest Merrill, Ph. D., was born on May 9, 1872, in Medina, New York, and died in Bellows Falls, Vermont, September 22, 1960.

Between these dates, 88 years apart, the life he lived was marked by intellectual alertness, spiritual sensitivity and commitment and a high degree of physical energy.

Minnesota provided him with academic and university education—University of Minnesota, B.A., 1891; Ph. D., 1894. Hartford Theological Seminary, from which he graduated in 1896, awarded him the Wells Fellowship for study in Europe. He joined the Central Turkey Mission of the American Board in 1898.

He seemed eminently fitted in the best sense of the term to be "an educational missionary," for he believed that both mind and heart must be informed and trained to perceive and to practice the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. He gave himself unreservedly and with great skill, throughout his active missionary career of thirty-eight years, to the task of communicating knowledge and training character. No small part of his time and effort was given to the administration of Central Turkey College at Aintab, but the center of his life was the teaching ministry in classroom and pulpit. He became president of the College in 1905.

Very early in his experience in Turkey he became a profound student of Islam. He cultivated friendly contacts with Turkish Muslims. At that time Aintab was a city of approximately 80,000 population, three-fourths of whom were Muslims. Before the revolution of 1909 it was rare to find a Turkish student in any American school or college in Turkey, but Dr. Merrill looked forward to the time when they too would be seekers for knowledge, wisdom and truth in Western institutions. He was a great student of the Qurʾān. His "papers" contain many unpublished studies dealing with Islamic history and theology.

In 1905 he married Isabelle Trowbridge, the granddaughter of the great missionary linguist of Constantinople, Elias Riggs. Together they continued to serve the cause of Christian Education in the Near East.

During the first World War Dr. Merrill sympathetically shared the tragic experiences of the Armenian population of Turkey. He saved the Central Turkey College from extinction but, more than that, he ministered to the needs of the oppressed and suffering.

In 1924 the Board of Managers of Central Turkey College transferred operations to the city of Aleppo in North Syria. Thenceforth the College was known as Aleppo College and continues today under that name. Dr. and Mrs. Merrill retired in 1937. For ten years he continued to serve the cause of Muslim evangelization by leading a seminar on Christian-Muslim relations. This seminar met three times a year, usually at Hartford Theological Seminary. Its members often expressed their great debt of gratitude to Dr. Merrill for his skilful guidance.

In 1955 Alumni of Central Turkey College and of Aleppo College, who were in New England, met to honor Dr. Merrill. It proved to be a notable occasion. A scroll which was presented to him contains this tribute:

TO THE REVEREND JOHN ERNEST MERRILL, Ph. D.
IN GRATEFUL TRIBUTE TO

His tireless pursuit of truth, and his ability to inspire his students with the same passionate devotion

His patient power of friendship, giving his undivided attention to every conversation, an encouraging listener as well as an inspiring counsellor

His courageous loyalty to every cause and every friend, no matter how bitter or how insidious the threat

His quiet smile, questioning every hasty conclusion and yet giving warm support to every timid step in the direction of truth, goodness, or beauty

His ability to see, and to help others to see, the unseen but eternal in the midst of the very visible but temporal things of life.

At Watertown, Massachusetts
On Saturday, September seventeenth, 1955

In the presence of many graduates of Central Turkey College and Aleppo College, former students and friends: and on behalf of a great multitude who could not be present but would gladly join in this tribute.

Waban, Massachusetts FRED F. GOODSELL

New Light on the Life of Muhammad. By Alfred Guillaume; Manchester University Press, 316-324 Oxford Road, Manchester 13, England; 1960, pp. 60, paper, price 10s.

Every Muslim source which sheds new light on the life of the Prophet is a welcome contribution. Professor Alfred Guillaume, to whom students of Islam already stand in debt for his translation of Ibn Hishām's recension of Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrat al-Rasūl* under the title *The Life of Muhammad* (Oxford University Press, 1955), has increased their obligation to him by the present Monograph (No. 1) of the Journal of *Semitic Studies.*

Professor Guillaume's study centers on a manuscript of uncertain antiquity reposing in the Library of the Qarawīyūn in Fez, Morocco, for the examination of which a photostat copy was made available. From dates mentioned on the MS. Professor Guillaume is convinced that "we have a well-authenticated document scrupulously handed on from one who attended the lectures of the earliest extant authority on the life of the prophet." This authority is none other than Ibn Isḥāq.

The MS., measuring about 8 in. by 6 in. and considerably worm-eaten, contains, in part, a report of Ibn Isḥāq's lectures on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad by one named Yūnus ibn Bukayr, who was a hearer of Ibn Isḥāq's lectures, as handed down by four intermediaries. The task of editing and translation remains to be done. Prof. Guillaume does not undertake to do this. Rather, he indicates in this monogram wherein the MS. is at variance with the *textus receptus* of Ibn Hishām's version or, especially, the material contained in the MS. and which has been omitted by Ibn Hishām. It is this new material which throws additional light on the Prophet's life and on the historical milieu from which he arose.

The Power Struggle in Iraq. By Benjamin Shwadran; Council for Middle Eastern Affairs Press, 333 West 86th Street, New York, 1960; pp. 90, paper, $ 2.00.

This is not a history of recent events in the Middle East but an attempt to interpret what happened during the twenty-one months following the July 14, 1958, revolution in Iraq. The author proposes an interpretation that does justice to standards and patterns that are distinctively Middle-Eastern, not Western, and believes that the time has come "to dispense with the practice of trying to fit the peoples of the region into the picture of the East-West struggle." The principal characters in Iraq's revolutionary government are sketched. The salient events, as the Arif-al-Gailani affair, the Mosul revolt, the massacre at Kirkuk, and the attempt on Qasim's life are explained. The rift between Iraq and the U.A.R. and the actions of Iraq's Special Supreme Military Court are discussed. Industrial, agricultural and commercial problems are briefly exposed. In this essay of a predominantly political character Iraq's relations with the major powers are weighed. The consequences

of involvements with Russia are pointed out. The author compares the nationalisms of Iraq and the U.A.R. and in conclusion emphasizes the necessity of keeping in mind "that the Arab Middle East lives by a set of values which are quite different from those of the West.

Military Elite and Social Change: Egypt Since Napoleon. By Morroe Berger; Center for International Studies, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, 1960, pp. 35, paper, 50 cents.

In this sociological study of the factors which enable a military elite to effect social change, special reference is made to Egypt since Napoleon, its development cultiminating in the era of Nassar with its army as an agent of social change. The author traces the effects of the Napoleonic occupation, the role of Muhammad ʿAlī, the impetus of foreign political and commercial interests following the latter, the Westernizing influence of the British occupation. The military regime is seen to have promoted liberalism in many spheres of social life, though it has suppressed Western parliamentary democratic procedures and Western-type political parties. A distinctive feature of this military authoritarian regime is its separation from religious control. Two questions, finally, are raised and briefly discussed: (a) In what order does change occur? and (b) Is the change durable?

Ancient Semitic Civilizations. By Sabatino Moscati; G. P. Putnam's Sons, 210 Madison Avenue, New York, 1960; pp. 254, illustrations, paper, $ 1.65.

Since 1949 this work has appeared in Italian, German and French editions. With each succeeding edition the author, Professor at the University of Rome, has taken the opportunity to revise the text in the light of newly acquired knowledge.

Arabia, Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia constitute the geographical stage for this concise and cursory review of the peoples called Semitic, that is, the Babylonians and Assyrians, Canaanites, Hebrews, Aramaeans, Arabs, and Ethiopians. The period under consideration is ancient or "classical," and does not go beyond the rise of Islam for the Arabs and the Muslim conquest for the Ethiopians. The thirty-eight pages devoted to the Arabs include a treatment of southern, central and northern Arabia in the pre-Islamic period with references to ethnic origins and economic, religious, political and cultural developments. In conclusion, Moscati sees religion as the great Semitic contribution to human culture, and, specifically, the idea of the oneness of God which "formed the essential kernel of Hebrew religion, as it was transmitted to the European world by Christianity, and to Asia and Africa by Islam. These three great religions of our world, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, all came into being in a small area of the Semitic region, and were professed and practised by Semitic believers before they set out to conquer the world."

Racial Problems in Soviet Muslim Asia. By Geoffrey Wheeler; Oxford University Press, 417 Fifth Avenue, New York, 1960; pp. xii, 66, paper, maps, $ 1.00.

The aim of this brief study, issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, is to describe objectively the "impact of the Russians and their civilization on the Muslim peoples of the eastern republics of the Soviet Union." It is a careful analysis of the relationship of Russians to non-Russians within the Union, particularly in the six Muslim republics whose Russian elements compose approximately one-third of the total population. The author traces the development of relationships during the Tsarist and post-Revolution periods and attempts to delineate and evaluate nationalist movements—if "nationalist" can be used with accurate connotation. He touches upon Soviet policy with regard to nationalities, population movements of the Muslims who number some twenty million within the U.S.S.R. (an estimate with the 1939 census as the latest available basis), the effects of the increasing Russian proportion, the political impact of the Soviet régime, the mutual antipathy of Islam and the Soviet system, the Soviet linguistic policy, developments in education, literacy, literature, the arts, the writing or rewriting of history, the influence of social intermingling, the impact of development in industry and agriculture. In addition to all these, the few comments made on present Soviet policies and relations with the non-Soviet East and Asia merit serious consideration. Appended are a short bibliography and population statistics.

The Right Path. By Mohammad Amnr Haider Khan, translator. Jafferali Writer, Alamdar P. Press, 167, Jail Road East, Bombay 9, India, 1959. Pp. 62, paper. 50 nP.

In Part I of a proposed larger edition the translator presents for English readers the correspondence between two religious scholars, one a Shi^{c}ite of Lebanon and the other a Sunni of Egypt. Their purpose is "to embark upon a search for the truth and its underlying evidences in cool, calm and collected atmosphere which is necessary for a scientific and logical inquiry." It is a dialogue, not a polemic. This part contains fourteen out of a total of 112 letters. The whole was first published in 1936 under the title *al-Murāja^{c}āt* and was reprinted in 1953.

International Social Science Journal. Vol. XI, No. 4, 1959. UNESCO, Paris. $ 2.00, 10/—(stg.), 6 NF.

Part I (104 pages) of this number, devoted to the theme of *Nomads and Nomadism in the Arid Zone,* consists in eight articles by an international panel of competent scholars. The nomadic groups under investigation have their habitat in North Africa, the Middle East and Asia, the vast majority of them being Muslims. The work includes studies in ecology, geography, climatic conditions, natural resources, economics, migrations, transition to sedentarism, influence of political changes. The human involvement is not ignored. Detailed consideration is given to nomadism in Anatolia, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Somaliland, the Sahara. Bibliographies and notes are valuable for further research.

The Christian Approach to the Muslim, By G. E. Marrison; Edinburgh House Press, 2 Eaton Gate, S.W. 1, London, 1959, pp. 64, paper, 2/6d.

As publication No. 5 in "The Christian Approach Series" (former numbers treating the Christian approach to the Hindu, the Jew, the Buddhist, the Communist), this booklet attempts to present a sympathetic understanding of Islam to Christians, "to find out what Islam stands for, not from hostile sources, but from the claims of the Muslims themselves." Its succinct exposition of the emergence of Islam with the Prophet Muhammad, of the Qur'ān as sacred Scripture, of fundamental Muslim beliefs and practices, and of the spread of Islam throughout the world, is reliable and commendable. Certain statements such as: "By the time of the death of the Prophet in A.D. 632, all Arabia had been unified under his command," may be subject to qualification, but they are irrelevant to the purpose of the study.

The challenges to the West, and specifically to Christians, as stated in Chapter 6, are entirely justified and appropriate, since Christians of the West have too long ignored or misinterpreted the claims and aspirations of the Islamic world.

In the section which treats specifically a Christian approach to Islam, much food for reflection is provided. The writer summons Christians to "reveal Islam from within as a system worthy of our concern," and, simultaneously, to re-examine their own faith while making more effective use of the means of divine grace and presenting a worthy Christian eschatology. The author does not pretend to answer the vital questions that inevitably arise in the treatment of these themes; he does point to the attitudes that are requisite to more rational and charitable Christian-Muslim relations. Here the Christian of today must start.

Explaining the Gospel to Muslims. By John Crossley; United Society for Christian Literature, Lutterworth Press, London, 1960, pp. 48, 2s.

Nigeria with its Muslim population is the setting from which this booklet has arisen. It represents a sincere effort to answer those questions about Christianity which inquisitive Muslims in that land have asked, and which Muslims throughout the world are raising. Neither questions nor responses are intended to be exhaustive. The author makes an attempt to explain simply, yet without side-stepping thorny issues or doing violence to Christian doctrine, those elements of the Christian faith and life that to the Muslim are least comprehensible or most objectionable.

In the first section on "What the Gospel Says," the writer faces squarely such questions as the meaning of worship, the sonship of Jesus, the significance of the death of Jesus on the cross, the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, the love of God. Section two is entitled, "How the Gospel Works." It treats the universal problems of wrong-doing, suffering, marriage and the home, nationalism, and brings to bear upon them the principles implicit in the Gospel. The amateur of erudition or the professional theologian may be little impressed by this presen-

tation. Yet simplicity should not be confused with lack of profundity, for the propositions here advanced possess profound significance for Christians and Muslims alike.

Survivances des Mesures Traditionnelles en Tunisie. By Marcel Legendre: Presses Universitaires de France, 108, Bd. Saint-Germain, Paris VI, 1958. Pp. 91, paper, illustrations.

Before the introduction of the decimal system of measurement in Tunisia, as even today in most regions, the multiplicity of instruments, terms and standards used, together with their differences of values, resulted in considerable confusion.

A *raṭl,* for example, may vary from 400 grams in one region to 750 in another, and a *dhirāᶜ* from 20 centimeters to 65. The author of this work, a publication of the Institut des Hautes Etudes de Tunis, brings order out of chaos by an elucidation of the many standards employed in measuring length, land surfaces, weight, capacity and time. The origins of these standards are explained in many cases, their equivalents are indicated according to region and modern standards, and, wherever possible, they are related to similar standards used in Greek or Roman antiquity or in other lands today.

Since these traditional means of measurement are still the only ones known to and utilized by a large portion of the population, not only of Tunisia but of other Arabic-speaking lands as well, in spite of the availability of the metric system, this concise work will prove to be of unusual interest and practical usefulness to those living in Tunisia and beyond.

Demain en Algérie. By Jean Servier; Robert Laffont, 30 rue de l'Université, Paris 7, 1959. Pp. 175, paper, 600 F.

The writer, who is also author of *Dans l'Aurès* and *Adieu, Djebels,* attempts to analyze the present situation in Algeria from the sociological and ethnological perspective. As one born in Algeria and having shared during long periods life among the Berbers and Arabs, he is able to enter sympathetically into the very core of the contemporary problem. As a Frenchman he writes frankly of those features of his countrymen's administration which he considers to be, or to have been, sociologically erroneous. Without prognosticating a solution he suggests steps that may still be taken. But the outcome is far from optimistic.

Recueil de Textes Tirés de la Presse Arabe. With Introduction by Ch. Pellat; Librairie d'Amérique et l'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 11 rue Saint-Sulpice, Paris VI, 1958, pp. 160, paper, 8 NF.

For students of Arabic who possess a good knowledge of grammar and a fair modern vocabulary this collection will serve as an introduction to press Arabic and as good textual material for a study thereof. As the title indicates, it is but a collection without further helps, but one

which provides a cross-section of the press as it appears in various lands. It includes excerpts from newspapers on all subjects—politics, sports, social questions, economics, religion, arts, culture, travel, editorials, advertisements, etc., without commentary. In general the presentation is an exact reproduction of the original, with various sizes and styles of type and unequal clarity of impression.

Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region. By George C. Miles; The American Numismatic Society, Broadway between 155th. and 156th. Streets, New York, 1959 (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 143). Pp. 124 plus 21 plates, paper, $ 5.00.

This monograph represents a catalogue of principally Islamic coins found in Iran at Istakhr, Naqsh-e Rostam, and Persepolis about twenty-five years ago. Of the total number of pieces catalogued, 1048 are from Istakhr, 19 from the Persepolis terrace, and 73 from Naqsh-e Rostam. Since the finds were the product of soundings and test excavations, they are of limited archeological value. For the history of Islamic numismatics, however, they are much more significant since they provide additional evidence of the rich variety and local experimentation that characterize the bronze coinage of the Umayyad Empire in both its eastern and its western portions.

The great majority of the Islamic coins are Abbāsid. Although the so-called Arab-Sasanian issues are relatively few in number, many of them represent new types. Nos. 138-141 and 143 illustrate Byzantine-Sasanian-Umayyad and nos. 155-159 Sasano-Post reform Umayyad types. Hitherto unknown Abbāsid issues are twenty-four in number and include the new mints of Jūr, Tawwaj, and Kūrat al-Mahdīyah min Fārs. Of particular interest is the very large number of bronze issues, which in part explains the wide variation in style, since it was in the field of bronze coinage that the latitude for local self-expression was widest.

As to Miles' analyses, methodology, and interpretations, it can be said that this work is fully up to the very high norm that characterizes his previous publications: careful numismatic and historical research, judicious evaluation, and proper indexing of mints, dates, and inscriptions.

The few points upon which the reviewer feels the need for comment are relatively minor. Miles is inclined to attribute the limited number of bronze issues in later Abbāsid times to the fact that those issued down to the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd met the needs of the East for centuries thereafter, but he notes that at Jericho most of the Islamic coins found were Umayyad. This is hardly surprising, since most of the Islamic bronze coinage that turns up in the old Syrian area today is indeed Umayyad. Apparently the large volume of such coinage produced in Umayyad times filled local needs for a long time to come, as the early Abbāsid coinage did farther east. Bronze coinage by its very nature does not tend to travel as far as silver or gold and tends to remain local in circulation.

The coinage of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī in this catalogue raises some

interesting problems in connection with the names of subordinate issuing officials whose names appear on it. The reviewer would like to point out that al-Yaᶜqūbī [1] has produced a long list of holders of concessions on the east bank of the Tigris in Baghdad who received their grants during the reign of al-Manṣūr while al-Mahdī was heir-apparent. These concessionnaires include Ismāᶜīl ibn ᶜAlī (represented on items 317-318 of Miles' catalogue); Rabīᶜ, a client of al-Manṣūr; and Nuṣayr, a Negro client of al-Mahdī. It seems possible that the latter two may be identified with the persons of the same names who appear on items 319-322 and 554-561 of Miles' catalogue.

Small slips to be pointed out include the following: 1) The figure on the reverse of No. 138 is so-called Arab-Byzantine, not Arab (cf. p. 29); 2) No. 54 on p. 11 has suffered through the omission of a hyphen between Byzantine and Arab; 3) On p. 41, the Middle Persian word *framūt* equals Arabic *amara* (or *ʾamara*), not *ᶜamara*—undoubtedly a case of sowing *hamzah* and reaping *ᶜayn*.

In conclusion, the reviewer would like to make a case for overhauling the dynastic terminology employed in early Islamic numismatics. It is customary to designate two well-known types of issues as "Arab-Byzantine" and "Arab-Sasanian" respectively. These terms seem unsatisfactory if we assume that the second part of the compound is supposed to denote the basic affiliation of the term; in other words, "Byzanto-Arab" or "Sasano-Arab" would be what it really meant to say. However, as a dynastic term the word "Arab" is meaningless: it is an ethnic or linguistic designator, and no more. The proper dynastic term is Umayyad. Therefore, the reviewer proposes that these two types would better be designated as "Byzanto-Umayyad" and "Sasano-Umayyad" respectively, which would be much more accurately descriptive of their actual character.

Arlington, Virginia HAROLD W. GLIDDEN

Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory. By Duncan B. Macdonald; Premier Book House, 4/5, Katchery Road, Lahore, Pakistan. First published 1903; reprinted 1960. Pp. viii, 414. Ten Rupees.

These paragraphs are not a review, but simply a notice about the republication of Macdonald's invaluable study of Islam which has long been out of print. It is the volume that placed the then young professor of Semitics at Hartford, Connecticut, in the first rank of the international Arabic and Islamic scholars, a position he maintained through thirty more years of teaching and the writing of other unique and superb Semitic and Islamic books, encyclopaedia articles and reviews.

This volume is reprinted with alterations made by Doctor Macdonald's successors at the Hartford Seminary Foundation in orthography to accord with modern scholarly usage and with substantive changes written in the marginal notes in the author's own copy, thus increasing to an extent the intrinsic worth of the original publication. Although there are typographical errors and mechanical defects in this

[1] Yaᶜḳūbī, *Les Pays*, tr. Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1937), pp. 35 ff.

reprint, teachers and students of Islam are indeed fortunate to have this excellent work available again.

Hartford, Connecticut EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

The Persian Gulf States. By Sir Rupert Hay, with Foreword by E. M. Eller, Rear Admiral, U.S.N., Washington, D.C.; Middle East Institute, 1959; pp. xvii, 160; inside cover paper map; 16 photographs. $ 3.75.

This is an excellent geographical and political account of Eastern Arabia. It brings down to date the splendid and full historical, sociological and economic description of the whole Persian Gulf countries provided by Sir Arnold Wilson's book, *The Persian Gulf* (Oxford, 1928).

The author's position as Political Resident (chief British official) for Eastern and Southern Arabia, with his intimate access to full information about all places, personalities and events in the whole area, makes his book both reliable and authoritative. It is not as easy to read as the late H. R. P. Dickson's *Kuwait and Her Neighbors* with its entertaining stories that reveal in detail the life of the Arabs, but it shows close knowledge and appreciation of Arab character. It sums up the Arab's finest quality in the information it gives to any *bona fide* traveller that where other accommodation is unavailable he may depend on "the unfailing hospitality of the Rulers or their subjects."

The author's title describes his subject as the Persian Gulf States. Arab maps now use the term "the Arabian Gulf." Formerly, when the Britons said "the Gulf," they meant the same area. And certainly the British have long exercised paramount political and commercial influence there without usurping local power. Rather, they protected the rights of the people to their own governments. They deserve great praise for eliminating piracy, suppressing the slave trade, preserving peace, security and safety on the Gulf. By their treaties they have safeguarded the independence of the states, protected them from other stronger nations and promoted the material welfare of the people by sharing with other countries in the development of the natural resources of the area.

The book is short but its subjects are many and concisely stated. Even the current Buraimi problem and that between the Sultan of Muscat and the Imam of Inner Oman are mentioned, naturally from the standpoint of the British and their treaty allies. The former is again under official discussion.

Hartford, Connecticut EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

Le conflit autour du Coran et la solution d'al-Bāqillānī. By Johan Bouman. Drukkerij en Uitgeverij Jacob van Campen, Amsterdam, 1959, pp. xi, 94, paper, F. 12.50.

The late D. B. Macdonald recognized years ago that al-Bāqillānī had been a very important figure in the development of Muslim theology,

and yet he gave extremely little information about this man to his readers. In recent years there has been a growing awareness of the importance of al-Bāqillānī, but there has been only a slight increase in the amount of material available in western European languages concerning his life and writings. The main contribution in this realm prior to Bouman's book was Gustave E. von Grunebaum's translation of the sections on poetry in Bāqillānī's *I'jāz al-Qur'ān* (the translation is entitled *A Tenth-Century Document of Arab Literary Theory and Criticism*). Bouman's book comes now as a greatly needed step toward filling the remaining gap in Western literature. His book is especially useful since its fine scholarship is accompanied by very numerous references and notes as well as a good bibliography and a clear exposition of the system of transliteration used.

The first chapter gives a summary of the major unorthodox views on the Qur'ān in the first three centuries of the Islamic era. He naturally dwells mostly on the views of the Mu'tazila, whose concept of monotheism was dominated by a Hellenistic, philosophic notion of unity rather than by a theological understanding of Allah, the One God. Chapter two provides the counterpart to this with a summary of "The Defense of the Qur'ān," culminating in the work of al-Ash'arī. This chapter concludes with the major thesis of the book. Bouman intends to show that as al-Ash'arī marks the decisive culmination of the first period of Quranic dispute centering in the problem of the creation or uncreatedness of the Qur'ān, so Bāqillānī marks the decisive culmination of the second period centering in the problem of determining what precisely is the miraculous nature of the Qur'ān.

Chapter three summarizes the views of al-Bāqillānī's immediate predecessors on this problem and prepares the way for the final chapter in which al-Bāqillānī's own life, work, and defense of the Qur'ān are discussed. Here and in the conclusion it is shown that his work contains no pioneering originality but that it is a masterly synthesis, compiling and ordering and elaborating all the material his predecessors had used in defense of the uncreatedness and inimitability of the Qur'ān. We are also shown that the work of this second-generation Ash'arite helped immensely in engraving the indelible mark of the Ash'arite school on all the succeeding history of Muslim theology.

Paris, France DAVID W. BUTLER

La Notion de Certitude Selon Ghazali. By Farid Jabre. Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 6, Place de la Sorbonne, Paris 6e, 1958. Pp. 474, paper.

The central problem here proposed is to discover the real meaning of "certainty" in religious matters as set forth by al-Ghazālī. Is it possible, the author asks, that heretofore scholars have been satisfied with generalizations that have obscured al-Ghazālī's precise ideas? Or have they been misled by identity of terms? Or have they reached conclusions that the master himself would disapprove?

After a brief mention and criticism of previous studies on al-Ghazālī by Obermann, Asin Palacios, Carra de Vaux, Wensinck, Margaret Smith, D. B. Macdonald, the author eulogizes the latter by saying:

"his work remains a model of the critical method." Yet the conclusions of former scholars, however laudable, require re-examination, and should not be blindly accepted as the final word. The author, in fact, exposes the inadequacies of their methods and conclusions.

Jabre acknowledges the valuable contribution of Western scholarship to Ghazalian lore. Yet he has preferred to resort almost exclusively to al-Ghazālī's own works, to come face to face thus with the master mind and, as if by the proces of osmosis, extract the essence, the key, the central idea by which to analyze and comprehend the master's psychological processes.

One of the problems arising because of the pursuit of this method, that of the authenticity of source material, is resolved by using only those titles attributed to al-Ghazālī to which no doubt attaches, and by leaving as an open question the authenticity of those of uncertain authorship. In the matter of authenticity special credit is given to W. Montgomery Watt.

In quest of the secret of al-Ghazālī's solution to his problem our author's plan is to examine first the master's position relative to the philosophers. This procedure has the advantage of clarifying his attitude toward *kalām,* as in the *Munqidh,* and leading therefrom to the core of the problem which is to be found in his concept of the "proof" and "argument," and ultimately to the object of his quest, certainty. In so doing, the psychological origins of al-Ghazālī's certitude appear.

For Jabre, al-Ghazālī seeks psychologically to discredit philosophy, rather than disprove its tenets. Always the constant criterion for evaluating the data of philosophy is the divine revelation.

This method of upholding revelation as the only sure guide while undermining whatever sense of security the philosophically inclined believers may have acquired is notably demonstrated in the *Tahāfut.* Here the undermining process is activated by recourse to the method of *reductio ad absurdum* and of driving his opponent back into a corner of ignorance and no-reply as well as by clever use of the very logic which is part of the philosophers' armament.

But behind all this Jabre sees in al-Ghazālī a vivacious and passionate soul who seeks by all methods and means to "produce the psychological effect on his readers."

Muslim scholastic theology (kalām) is judged by the same criterion of revelation for the purpose of conserving the "Sunni Credo." Here also al-Ghazālī seeks to create a psychological climate conducive to the confusion of his adversaries, as demonstrated in the *Iqtiṣād.* He employs the device of *reductio ad absurdum* and caps the stratagam of logic with an appropriate and incontrovertible verse of Scripture. "The soul of Ghazali," says Jabre, "his intimate thoughts, are revealed in this conclusion." (p. 83) For textual citation is not a mere pious apologue to proof by logic and argument; it is a way of asserting that divine revelation supersedes reason in the quest for certainty. (p. 84)

Scholastic theology, then, has its limitations; it cannot bring the believer to certain knowledge of ultimate reality. The evidence for this position taken by al-Ghazālī is to be found not in one but in several of his works. Furthermore, according to our author, the evolution of

al-Ghazālī's thought toward this end can be traced by examining the master's works in the following chronological order: the *Maqāṣid*, the *Miᶜyār*, the *Miḥakk*, the *Qisṭās* and the Introduction to the Mustaṣfā. In the *Miᶜyār* al-Ghazālī is hesitant and ill at ease in his use of Aristotelian terminology. In the *Qisṭās* he employs a technical vocabulary of his own creation, better adapted to the fruits of his personal reflection. In this he resorts to the Qurʾān itself, for ultimately the content of Revelation is final authority and criterion of certitude.

Part II is a study of al-Ghazālī's notion of certitude as it is related particularly to intuitional knowledge which can dispense with proof and demonstration. The author investigates the real meaning of this kind of knowledge as expressed in terms such as *yaqīn, taṣdīq, ilhām, dhawq, maᶜrifa*. He treats both the subjective and objective aspects of this knowledge together with its relation to the psycho-cosmological system of al-Ghazālī, and exposes the master's views on the Prophet as the infallible criterion of certitude. Real security, he concludes, is to be found only in Islām.

The aim of the third part of this study is to situate al-Ghazālī's ideas in the historical thought patterns of his time, in particular those of the *Bāṭinites*, or to use al-Ghazālī's designation, *taᶜlīmites*. The author has utilized for this task a British Museum manuscript of the *Mustaẓhirī*.

Summarily, Farid Jabre has presented a discerning analysis of al-Ghazālī's thought processes in his intellectual and spiritual journey from skepticism to incontrovertible certainty such as the latter is conceived in relation to its psychological and historical origins. The author does not pretend to surpass these limits in this investigation. By his judicious use of source material he has shown the way to a more adequate appraisal of the master's mind and of the doctrines generally attributed to him.

The value of this work is greatly enhanced by the appending of some sixty pages of translations into French of passages from the *Munqidh*, the *Iljām*, the *Fayṣal, Kitāb al-ᶜIlm* of the *Iḥyāʾ*.

A generously furnished index of technical terms is a further aid to the reader.

Hartford, Conn. ELMER H. DOUGLAS

Maronite Historians of Mediæval Lebanon. By Kamal S. Salibi; American University of Beirut, Beirut, 1959 (Oriental Series No. 34), pp. 262, map, paper.

This is the study of three Maronite historians who deal with the Mediaeval period (A.D. 1100-1516) of the history of Lebanon. Two of these, Jibrāʾīl ibn al-Qilāᶜī (d. 1516) and Isṭifān al-Duwayhī (d. 1704), were close contemporaries to the period. The third, Ṭannus al-Shadyāq (d. 1864), was much further removed from it.

Al-Qilāᶜī was one of three young Maronites who, through the efforts of Fra Gryphon, the famous Franciscan missionary to the Maronites, were received into the Franciscan Order and sent to Rome to study. There he received the rigid academic training of a priest and returned

to Lebanon after twenty-three years "full of Catholic zeal" (p. 25) He set about attempting to correct Monophysite teachings through the medium of the *zajaliyya* (folk ballad) and personal letter writing. The history which he did write and which is the basis for this book was for the purpose of proving "to his community that the Roman Faith was the orthodox faith, that the Maronite Church was orthodox by origin, and the preservation of its original union with Rome was natural and necessary" (p. 33). Salibi deals at length with Al-Qilāʿī's Madīḥa ʿalā Jabal Lubnān (Eulogy on Mount Lebanon) which is similar to an epic, and less in detail to his *Tabkīt kull man zāgh ʿan al-Īmān* (Rebuke to every one who has strayed from the Faith) and his letter to the Maronite Patriarch, Shamʿūn Buṭrus al-Ḥadathī (1492-1524).

Al-Duwayhī was probably the first Maronite to attempt a complete history of the Maronite people. He was sent to Rome at the age of twelve where he studied in the Maronite College for fourteen years. Because of his exceptional abilities he was chosen as a missionary and sent to the Lebanon by the College of Propaganda. His work was of such note and so well received that in time he became the Maronite Patriarch of Antioch (A.D. 1670) which office he filled until his death in A.D. 1704. Of his several works only the three historical ones are considered and of these *Tārīkh al-Ṭāʾifa al-Mārūniyya* (The History of the Maronite Sect) is dealt with at length. In this book Al-Duwayhī "attempted to prove their unbroken orthodoxy and union with Rome" (p. 94). Though he was prejudiced to a point where at times he was led to wrong conclusions, yet his writings show an attempt at compiling and coordinating a history of the Maronites from the fragmentary evidences he could find in the monastaries in and around Qannūbīn.

Al-Shidyāq represents a contrast to the above historians. He was a merchant and educator in the service of the *Shihābī* emirs and as such was acquainted with the political intrigues of his day. His main historical work, *Akhbār al aʿyān fī Jabal Lubnān* (Information about the Chieftains in Mount Lebanon) is the only one discussed. It was completed in 1855 and covers the period from the Arab conquest to 1855. The history is dealt with by ruling families and not chronologically as a whole. As a source book for the history of these families, many of which are still powerful leaders in Lebanese politics, this is very useful and informative. There is very little on the Maronite history of the Mediaeval period except as it was touched by the feudal struggles in southern Lebanon. "As a work of historiography, *Akhbār al-aʿyān* ... is poor ... But the very fact that Shidyāq was an uncritical compiler makes his work an important source for the history of mediaeval Lebanon" (p. 233).

Salibi has succeeded well in bringing three historians together and comparing them in a critical manner. His knowledge of Lebanese history and his acquaintance with other sources are evident by judgements on the accuracy of the authors he is studying. The text and footnotes are full of references to other historians who may disagree. The very adequate scholarly apparatus is such as to enable one to pursue further study at any point. Even names of small villages are traced

and the footnotes give their locality. Occasionally his inability to find the locality of a village mentioned is noted. One technicality in production which proved somewhat annoying was the printing of footnote numbers in brackets and not as small numbers above the line.

Though this book seems to add nothing of significance to the debate concerning the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites, it does add considerable detail to the period of the Crusades and Mamluks. The author's careful and detailed criticisms are of real value in obtaining a picture of the events and problems of that period. Certainly this book is of value to one who would understand the background of the Maronites. An added premium is the section by al-Shidyāq on the feudal families of Lebanon who were mainly Muslim and Druse. Approximately one fifth of the book deals with this subject.

Portland, Oregon KENNETH L. CROSE

Avicenna's De Anima. Edited by F. Rahman; Oxford University Press, 417 Fifth Ave., New York 16, N.Y., 1959, pp. xii, 299 (of which 269 in Arabic); $ 10.00 (63s. in U.K.).

The editor of this volume is already known through his English translation of *Kitāb al-Najāt*, which is Avicenna's (Ibn Sīnā) own abridgement of his *Kitāb al-Shifā'*. The translation was published under the title *Avicenna's Psychology* (Oxford University Press, 1952).

The subject of the present work is Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Nafs* (De Anima), which is another part of the celebrated *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, the material of which is not new to scholars of the East or the West, but the significance and interpretation of which continue to engage the attention of researchers in the field of philosophy, psychology and theology. For this reason, as well as for the superb quality of scholarship applied to the textual labor, this work of editing merits high commendation.

Dr. Rahman has collated eight Arabic manuscripts, two Latin texts, and the Teheran lithographed text (1303 A.H.) in determining what he calls the *editio princeps*. The earliest dated MS. used goes back to the twelfth century. Variant readings and their sources are indicated in the critical apparatus.

Twenty-nine pages of glossary of technical words, with Greek and Latin equivalents, some with elaborate explanations and reference, constitute a feature of exceptional value.

As the corrected text stands it is a boon to Arabists. If translated, its usefulness to students of philosophy and psychology will be multiplied indefinitely. Few may agree with Ibn Sīnā's theories in this modern age. Yet with progress in all branches of science it is not irrelevant to investigate the science of one who was the nonpareil of his day, who exerted an unprecedented influence on Western thought through the Middle Ages, and the finesse and depth of whose mind have not yet been fully comprehended.

Hartford, Connecticut ELMER H. DOUGLAS

Bayān al-farq bayn al-ṣadr wa'l-qalb wa'l-fu'ād wa'l-lubb. By Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad bin ᶜAlī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī. Edited by Nicholas Heer; Dār Iḥyāᵓ al-Kutub al-ᶜArabīyah, Cairo, 1958, pp. 111, Arabic.

Students of Sufism have long noted the possible influence of al-Tirmidhī (not to be confused with the traditionist Abū ᶜĪsā Muh. al-Tirmidhī), the copious writer of the Islamic third century, upon later Sufi development. But without the general accessibility of reliable sources it has been difficult to define or assess this influence. Having now the present text of one of al-Tirmidhī's writings, edited by Professor Nicholas Heer of the University of Stanford, and anticipating others in the future, scholars will be able to appreciate more precisely al-Tirmidhī's ideas.

This text has been prepared from a manuscript which exists uniquely in the Dar al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah in Cairo, but of which a photographic copy may be found in London. It has neither date nor name of copyist. The script, however, would indicate a late period. As Professor Heer has explained in his Introduction, the transcriber was extremely careless in his task. Considerable emendation of the text was therefore necessary. The editor has done this in some cases by incorporating the corrections in the text and indicating errors in the footnotes. Still other errors are left in the text while the correct reading occurs in the footnotes. He has furthermore exposed briefly the salient points of al-Tirmidhī's career, described the known sources of our knowledge of him, listed the works by him or attributed to him, and provided a brief résumé of the *Bayān al-Farq*. This is essentially a psychological study in which man's intellectual and spiritual life is reduced to the function of four *maqāmāt*: *ṣadr, qalb, fuᵓād* and *lubb*, each of which is linked with four stages (*manāzil*) and four inner states (*ḥālāt*). Professor Heer has also alluded to the probable influence of al-Tirmidhī's theories on later writers of greater renown, such as al-Ghazālī, ibn ᶜArabī and Ibn Qayyim. The printing and binding are excellent.

Hartford, Connecticut ELMER H. DOUGLAS

An Introduction to Modern Literary Arabic. By David Cowan; Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1958; pp. xi, 205; 35 s, New York $ 6.50.

The great strategic importance of the Arab world is reflected in the increase in Arabic studies in Europe and America and in the increased number of publications on Arabic. Cowan's *An Introduction to Modern Literary Arabic* (MLA) is intended to render this "exotic" language more attainable to the ever increasing number of aspiring Arabists. It is intended to present concisely the structure of modern literary Arabic as found in newspapers, magazines, books, the radio, and public speaking, and to serve as well as an introduction to Classical Arabic. The author states in his Preface that the text should be used under the direction of an Arab or an Arabic scholar, but, if need be, can be used for self study.

Of the existing works on Arabic, MLA is closest to Thatcher's *Arabic Grammar*, which forms the most natural basis for comparison. In fact, the order of presentation is remarkably parallel to that of

Thatcher. The features that make MLA different from Thatcher are (1) deletion of much of the detail found in Thatcher, leaving a more streamlined work; however, what remains is introductory, and no claim for completeness is made for it; (2) a grouping together in one spot of all facts pertinent to a given subject rather than treating it in various different places; and (3) a remarkable conciseness, the opposite of Thatcher's wordiness.

While MLA is generally superior to Thatcher's *Grammar* in organization, and even more complete in the description of some features such as the numerals, Thatcher is generally more complete and goes farther into the language. While the author states that his grammar is a stepping stone to Wright's *Arabic Grammar* and makes no claims for comprehensive coverage, it is the reviewer's belief that the gap between MLA and Wright is too great, and that something more advanced is desirable.

For example, under prepositions are listed nouns in the accusative case which function as prepositions, for example *ᶜinda, bayna.* But nowhere does the author mention that, unlike true prepositions, these nouns are declinable and may occur as well in the genitive case. Another example: the construction exemplified by *mughādaratuhu lubnāna* (his departure from Lebanon) or *waṣfuhumu'l-qawāᶜida hādhihi* (their description of these rules) is an important one in modern literary Arabic, and should probably have been described in the treatment of the verbal noun (with cross reference to the section on the genitive construct).

Further, the addition of a subject index and a word index would have been a decided advantage. For example, the *laᶜalla* construction is adequately described under Verbal and Nominal Sentences (p. 66), but the student must first know its function in order to know where to try to find it.

While, as Cowan states, the book may be profitably used for self study, it is unlikely that it will serve as a classroom text for the large intensive or semi-intensive courses of Arabic developing in American universities. This is because it lacks the linguistic texts and exercises on which to base a course of study. It should prove very useful, however, as a reference grammar complementing an introductory inductive type course such as Ziadeh and Winder's *An Introduction to Modern Arabic* [1] or the newly appeared *Lessons in Contemporary Arabic.* [2]

FSI Field School,
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ERNEST N. MCCARUS

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[1] Farhat J. Ziadeh and R. Bayly Winder, *An Introduction to Modern Arabic,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1958.

[2] Charles A. Ferguson and Moukhtar Ani, *Lessons in Contemporary Arabic. Lessons 1-8.* Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association, Washington, D.C., 1960.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Dr. Moulvi 'Abdul Haq celebrates ninetieth birthday. In the major cities of West Pakistan, Pakistani lovers of Urdū language (one of the two national languages of Pakistan and lingua-franca of pre-partition India for three centuries) celebrated last summer the ninetieth birthday of Dr. Moulvī ᶜAbdul Ḥaq, the greatest scholar of that language in this century. He is among the earliest graduates of the Anglo-Muhammadan College of Aligarh which later became the Muslim University. By his diligence he charmed Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan to whom he was as dear as his own sons. As a younger contemporary, Dr. ᶜAbdul Ḥaq was a close friend of a whole galaxy of great Muslim scholars and leaders in India. He has recorded his friendship with several of them in his well-known book *Chand Ham ᶜAṣr* (Some Contemporaries).

He was one of the founders of the Osmania University in Hyderabad, the only university in British India which taught all subjects in Urdū. Nearly fifty years ago he became Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Urdū (The Society for the Promotion of Urdū) and turned that infant society into a great academy. Revival of many outstanding Urdū classics is due to his initiative. The Anjuman has nearly three hundred fine publications to its credit. Dr. ᶜAbdul Ḥaq is himself editor of several of these.

He is known as a great prose stylist and a great orator. He has been a celibate all his life and service of Urdū has been his only passion. He is affectionately remembered in Pakistan by all as Bābā-i-Urdū, or the Grand Old Man of Urdū. He caused the opening of hundreds of schools in India where Urdū was used as the medium of instruction. He championed the cause of Urdū in many political battles.

After partition the head office of the Anjuman was moved to Karachi. He is now its life-President and is very active in publishing and guiding research.

His admirers have decided to publish his letters to his friends in three volumes.

D.R.

Literature in Morocco. There is a slight increase of literary activity in Morocco which may mark the beginning of a revival of Arabic literature in this westernmost land of the Orient. Developments and trends in modern Moroccan literature may best be followed by a consideration of the government-sponsored literary magazine *Daᶜwat al-Ḥaqq,* which has been published since 1957. In the pages of this slick paper journal, with artistic photographs on the covers, are found studies in Islam, essays and articles on cultural subjects, short stories and poetry.

As for books by Moroccan authors published in Morocco, these are few indeed. Aside from text books for the public schools, one finds almost nothing Moroccan in the book shops. Most modern books are brought from the East. A member of the staff of *Daᶜwat al-Ḥaqq* has stated that young Moroccan authors face the discouraging problem

of a penury of readers in this newly awakening land. Also the majority of those who are capable of creative writing are serving their country in office and teaching positions which consume most of their time and energy. It is not surprising that their literary output is as yet only a trickle.

Two recent titles in the historical field have been published in Taṭwān and Muḥammadīya. They are: *Tārīkhu Taṭwān,* by Muḥammad Dāwud, a history of the famous northern Moroccan city, and *Al-Sūs al-ᶜālima,* a history of learning in the storied southern region of Morocco, by Mukhtār al-Sūsī.

R.M.S.

Summer School for Missionaries. Thirty-nine Christian missionaries from four societies gathered for two weeks of study last summer (1960) in Tangier, Morocco, in the interest of better understanding of Islam. The visiting lecturer was Dr. James Thomson, clergyman of the Church of Scotland, former missionary to Algeria, Old Testament scholar, and specialist in Islamics. He spoke on the following subjects: "What is Man according to the Qurᵓān"? "Divine Providence in the Qurᵓān"; "God's Self-revelation to Man"; "Man's Response to God's Revelation"; "Terminology of Sin in the Qurᵓān"; "The Meaning of Faith in Islam." The lecturer also delivered a series of messages from the Bible, in which he dealt with matters concerning a missionary's personal life and service. Other sessions were concerned with Arabic language studies, both colloquial and classical, translation problems, hymnal revision and literature production.

R.M.S.

Religion and Revolution in Turkey. Events reported in the Turkish press since the military revolution on May 27, 1960, indicate that there will be a different atmosphere officially in Turkey towards Islam.

General Gürsel, the provisional President of Turkey and official spokesman for the military group that has assumed rule in Turkey, has spoken out firmly on the religious issue. Recently during a graduation exercise of Turkish naval cadets, Gürsel made it plain that sectarian differences would have no place in the policy of the new government. He specifically mentioned that Shiᶜites, Sunnis, Christians and Jews would receive equal treatment and consideration under the constitution of the Second Turkish Republic.

Several days before his announcement representatives of the Turkish Shiᶜite community sent a letter to the commission of Turkish jurists working on the new constitution. They asked that religion be completely separated from all governmental affairs. They requested the abolishment of the present Office of Religious Affairs (successor of the former office of the Shaikh of Islam in the old Ottoman government). They also asked that religious lessons be withdrawn from the schools.

The head of the Jewish, Armenian and Greek Orthodox churches in Turkey have all made their pilgrimages to General Gürsel's office and have pledged their support of the new government.

Preliminary reports on the character of the new constitution indicate that there will be sharp and clear provisions to guarantee that religion will not become a political force in Turkey again. Meanwhile the police have begun a nationwide raid on the questionable Nurculars, and many have been arrested and their literature has been confiscated.

The managers of the three national radio stations in Izmir, Istanbul and Ankara have announced that Qur'ān readings will be performed only on Friday, and that the Arabic original will be followed by a "simple" Turkish translation. They also announced that the Mevlid, the popular religious ceremony usually read in honor of the dead, will be read only over the three radio stations on recognized religious holidays.

Anticlerics in Turkey, encouraged by the revolution, have taken up their demands for a reform in Islam. They have asked that the call to prayer be returned to Turkish, that the delayed "government-sponsored" Turkish translation of the Qur'ān be carried out, and that the entire mosque service be presented in Turkish.

Though most of the university professors were anti-Menderes, and were outspoken in their criticisms of the growing power of Islamic forces in Turkey, there were a few professors who flourished during the Menderes era and who advocated an orthodox approach to Islam. It appears now that they are reaping the consequences of their conservatism. Ordinarius Professor Ali Fuad Başgil, professor of constitutional law, is under attack by the students at the University of Istanbul who have protested his presence on the faculty and who demand his expulsion from the faculty. Başgil, along with the journalists and self-appointed spokesman for "enlightened" conservatism Paymi Safar recently attempted to defend the religious attitude of the Menderes regime. Their articles in the Istanbul daily, *Havadis*, brought the closing of this paper by the military authorities in Istanbul. This act indicates that at present the Turks are too close to the Menderes era to allow any defense of that administration.

Başgil alienated the intellectuals several years ago when he, almost alone among the university professors, sided with the President of the Office of Religious Affairs when he ruled that the Qur'ān could not be translated into Turkish, nor could it even be transcribed in its Arabic sense into Latin script. He presented his position at that time in a strong article in Paymi Safar's magazine, *Turk Dusuncesi* (Turkish Thought). This article was picked up by the conservative Turkish groups, was reprinted and widely circulated.

Recently there has been more and more talk about the need to educate the Turkish peasant to prevent him from easily falling victim of reaction. There has been an extensive effort on the part of city school teachers along this line. Groups of teachers have given up their summer vacations, and have been busy traveling all over Turkey and explaining the meaning of the May 27 Revolution. Their articles about their experiences, which have been appearing in Turkish newspapers, are very revealing. Not only do they show the degree to which the Menderes government had won the villager, but they also perhaps more significantly indicate the degree to which the city intellectual

was unaware of the mind and position of the villager. It appears that the teachers educated the villager and the villager educated the teachers.

In trying to destroy the villager's image of Menderes, built up over five years of special concessions to his basic conservatism and religious prejudice, the press has been attempting to depict him as an irreverant man, who only appeared to be religious to win the villager's vote. It is reported that Menderes never paid for the luxurious rug that he presented to the renovated mosque at Eyup Sultan, near Istanbul. Though Menderes pledged a half-million liras toward the building of a monumental new mosque in Ankara, it has been reported that he did not honor his pledge, and never paid a kurus to the mosque fund. It appears that on other occasions the government, and not Menderes personally, paid the bills for the various sacrificial animals that Menderes had slaughtered after his survival of the Turkish Air Line crash near London two years ago. This task of ripping apart the Menderes image often has sunk to rumor and gossip. The press has reported in detail the events of Menderes' last night of freedom on the eve of the military assumption of control.

Despite the upsurge of a secularistic sentiment, it appears that the present government does not intend at this time to cancel out some of the major institutional gains for Islam under Menderes. There is no indication that the Imam ve Hatip (medium level religious leaders' training schools) will be closed. Neither is there any indication that the religious lessons in the primary and middle schools will be discontinued. However there is some indication that Muslim publications will be somewhat curtailed, especially books printed in the Arabic script. Police have begun to raid book sellers in various cities in Turkey, and have published a list of banned religious books. All books on the list are printed in Arabic script, though most of them are in Ottoman Turkish.

One of the most interesting proposals for religious freedom has come from the same Shi'ite group which asked for religious freedom in Turkey. They have requested the provisional government to revise the law against dervish organizations to allow the Bektaşi group to become legal. They argue that this group is the only religious order which is basically liberal and supports the letter and spirit of the Ataturk and May 27 Revolutions. Though their evaluation of the Bektaşi group is basically correct, it should also be noted that the Bektaşi group is deeply saturated with Shi'ite dogma and belief.

The government has also placed a damper on the plans of the Nurculars to build an elaborate pilgrimage mosque over the remains of their "saint" Said Nursi, a controversial figure who arose to public prominence in the last three years of the Menderes administration. At the same time government investigations of the various officials of the deposed Democratic Party have discovered that several members of the Menderes government were members of the Nurculars and actively supported him. There has been some indication that governmental pressure was brought on police during the Menderes era to allow Said Nursi freedom of movement. Just before his death in March of this year, he was allowed to make a sensational tour of Turkey,

despite the fact that he was in "technical" exile in Isparta. During this trip he received police protection and was allowed to have his own small task force of personal bodyguards.

In general the provisional government is moving along, taking full advantage of the "honeymoon," but two very difficult factors augur for rougher times ahead, which may extend the caretaker government in power until January or February of 1961. One factor is the fact that the Menderes government had a tremendous popular following among the rank and file of the Turkish peasants. Before free elections can be held, it appears that this image of Menderes must be destroyed. The other factor is the shaky economic situation in which Menderes left Turkey. Though the Turkish lira has shown some strength in recent weeks, and the government is trying to cut down the vast and patchwork public-works projects begun by Menderes, inflation seems still to be on the prowl in Turkey. There have been some uneasy signs of unemployment, and the government decree to raise all civil servants' salaries will aid, not check, inflation. The provisional government seems to be uneasy about holding popular elections until the basic economic situation shows a turn for the better. It has attempted to take money out of circulation through the issuance of a series of government bonds which are issued on a ten-year basis and pay 6½% interest. The government also has called for deep sacrifices on the part of the Turkish people, and has asked that each make a voluntary contribution of gold to the government to help build up its almost non-existent gold stock. But this measure is basically psychological, and will have no really significant direct economic effect.

J.K.

Stellenbosch Undertakes Islamic Studies. The University of Stellenbosch, Cape Province, South Africa, has officially announced its intention, following a formal decision made on August 4, 1960, to establish an Institute of Islamic Studies. The University has a general interest in all aspects of Islam, but more especially in its distinctive characteristics and influence in Africa. The University of Stellenbosch is to be congratulated on taking this initiative. May it enjoy constant encouragement from those sections of the academic world that are engaged in a similar pursuit. This Quarterly extends its best wishes to the Islamic specialists and students of Stellenbosch and formulates the desire to remain in communication with them as research proceeds, to the end that the cause of mutual understanding between Muslims and men of other faiths may be advanced.

Harry St. John B. Philby. Mr. Harry St. John B. Philby, C. I. E., the world's foremost authority on Arabia, passed away in Beirut, October 3, 1960. He was buried as a Muslim, having left the Christian Church for Islam in 1930, and was perhaps better known in the Arab world as al-Ḥājj ᶜAbdallah Philby.

As a Muslim Mr. Philby had a unique opportunity to study Arabia. He became a trusted friend of Ibn Saud, father of King Saud, and with his help and patronage was able to do extensive exploring of the

Arabian peninsula. His home was at Mecca, in a house given to him by Ibn Saud. Oil Companies have used his maps and descriptions and found them completely accurate, and his monumental research will always be basic to any further study of Arabia.

Among his books are *The Heart of Arabia* (1922), written after his forty-four-day crossing of Arabia from Uqair to Jadda; *Sheba's Daughters* (1939), following his unannounced entry into the Aden Protectorate from Yemen; *Arabian Days* (1948), mentioning his wartime detention because of his anti-British sentiments; *Arabian Jubilee* (1952) and *Saudi Arabia* (1955), in both of which he included criticisms of the corruption and general degeneration of Arabia; and *Forty Years in the Wilderness* (1957). Besides these and his maps, he contributed invaluably with his collections of Arabian geological and zoological specimens, and with his collection and study of many thousand early Semitic inscriptions from Arabia.

Mr. Philby was born on April 3, 1885, in Ceylon. After his graduation from Trinity College, Cambridge, with an excellent record in several Oriental languages, he joined the Foreign Service and was assigned to the Punjab. In 1917 he accepted charge of the British Political Mission to Ibn Saud. He left the I. C. S. in 1925, but continued to live in Arabia, adopting the Muslim faith. His personal friendship and cooperation with Arabian leaders was jeopardized only once after that, when, following the death of Ibn Saud, he criticized the corruption in Arabia and was expelled, then invited back after a year.

Mr. Philby was always critical of British foreign policy, especially concerning Ibn Saud, and in the Palestine situation. He had many eccentricities and was always arrogantly confident that he was right. But when these are all forgotten he will always be remembered for the vast amount he contributed to the study of Arabia.

K.E.N.

Iam in West Africa. According to an article which appeared in the New York Times, Sunday, October 9, 1960, Christian missionaries are deeply concerned about the advances of Islam in West Africa. This report pointed out that notable gains have been made among the Yorubas, the main tribe of Western Nigeria, and Ibos of Eastern Nigeria. An American, who works for a philanthropic foundation in Nigeria, said, "Islam is spreading like wildfire. It offers Africans an uncomplicated creed with a few simple tenets." Also an Islamic leaflet which was circulated read, "The Prophet's Law has been found practicable all over the world." It continued by saying, "The Law of Islam makes human beings better human beings. It does not claim to change human beings into something else." The leaflet was published by the Ahmadiyya Mission, a Pakistani group active in Nigeria. A sobering statement to missionary personal says, "Islam is said to be gaining ground in West Africa without an organized missionary effort." Nigeria, which has just become independent, claims that of its almost thirty-six million population about fifteen million are thought to be Muslims, fifteen million are pagans, while Protestants and Roman Catholics together claim about six million. Another interesting fact is that Islam

is the prevailing faith in the huge Northern region of Nigeria and the Muslims control the Federal government. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Belewa, prime minister, is from the Northern section and is a strict Muslim. The article ended by stating that the most serious problem of Islam in Nigeria today is the rigorous observance of the religious obligations by the new converts and their violation by the older members of the Muslim faith.

J.S.S.

Mosque in Sheffield. Muslims in Sheffield, England, plan to build a mosque to meet the needs and strengthen the faith of believers presently separated from their native homes.

Two thousand Arab and 1,000 Pakistani Muslims are making an appeal to the United Arab Republic in Cairo for a large grant to cover the estimated cost of £ 50,000. Should the effect fail, the Muslims will attempt to arise the funds among themselves.

According to Mr. Ishmael Mahmoud, a secretary serving the local group, the Muslims intend to buy a block of several houses which will be demolished and to use the area as a building site. Actually an abandoned Sheffield vicarage has been turned into a mosque.

The physical stamina of the Arabs enables them to hold their jobs in the steel works. But problems arise from the fact that many of these men are illiterate and in danger of losing their faith. Also they are separated from their families. Money is frequently spent on drink instead of being sent to their families who have insufficient resources.

Some of the young men have married English girls, bought homes and settled down in neighborhoods together. The establishment of a mosque would mean the full-time service of a religious leader and eventually the organization of a school for Muslim children.

E.M.D.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

I. GENERAL

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